LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW AMERICA

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS

ARCHIBALD McCLURE

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January 1917

LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW AMERICA

ANGEL ISLAND, WHERE CHINESE AND JAPANESE PASS THROUGH
THE ELLIS ISLAND OF THE PACIFIC COAST

LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW AMERICA

Racial and Religious

BY

ARCHIBALD McCLURE

FELLOW OF MCCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CHICAGO

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TO

COLONEL DUDLEY C. SMITH

FOUNDER OF THE BERNARDINE ORME SMITH FELLOWSHIP
IN HEARTY APPRECIATION OF HIS GENEROSITY AND
IN GRATITUDE FOR THE YEAR OF STUDY
WHICH HE HAS MADE POSSIBLE

PREFACE

The following chapters have been written in the hope that they may be of as much interest and suggestiveness to others as the facts which they attempt to portray have been to me. They are based on a study of "Immigrant Leadership," undertaken during the year 1915–1916 under the Bernardine Orme Smith Fellowship of McCormick Theological Seminary.

Investigations were carried on in many immigrant communities from the Atlantic to the Pacific, where mines, mills, homes, schools, churches, labor meetings, national and social gatherings were visited. Personal interviews were held with several hundred leaders among the immigrants. Included in this number were government officials, settlement workers, priests, Protestant pastors, freethinkers, foreign-language newspaper editors, socialists, I. W. W. leaders, saloonkeepers, doctors, lawyers and many others.

An effort was made not so much to look into the wage, housing and political conditions of the immigrants as to study the men who in various lines are leaders, and the movements which are at present on foot, among our immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. This was done with the hope that it might throw some light on the perplexing problem of the training of Protestant religious leaders for work among our immigrant population.

The study does not purport to be either exhaustive or complete, but merely suggestive, in its summary of the leaders and the nationalities with which it deals.

Data was gathered concerning sixteen nationalities, though the amount of information given about them is proportioned rather to the opportunity that was found for studying them than to the size or importance of their immigration to the United States. Several important omissions will be noted in the list of nationalities, as no data was gathered concerning the Finns, Serbs, Bulgarians, Armenians, Syrians, Portuguese, Spanish or Mexican immigrants. No attempt was made to study the older immigration of northern Europeans.

Attention was concentrated in certain cities on special nationalities that had important colonies in those cities; and an effort was made to see leaders representing both sides of questions whether of national, economic or religious interest. The conditions described are the conditions of today, and will change tomorrow. Hence the usefulness of the information is largely temporary, though for the present I trust that it is accurate. It is at least fresh, for it was gathered at first hand.

In presenting the results of the year's study I wish especially to express my appreciation to the Rev. William P. Shriver, Rev. Kenneth D. Miller, Rev. Joel B. Hayden, Rev. Ralph Cummins, Rev. Harvey E. Holt and Rev. Henry L. Hellyer for their guidance and constant assistance; to the Faculty of McCormick Seminary for their encouragement of my work; and to the hundreds of other men and women of many nationalities in many cities, who, by gifts of time and information, assisted me with such remarkable courtesy and generosity. To them all I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

ARCHIBALD MCCLURE.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
November, 1916.

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PART ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Teutonic
   - German
   - Dutch
   - Flemish
   - Scandinavian

2. Latin
   - French, Walloons & Spanish
   - Italian
   - Rumanian

3. Slavonic
   - a. Northern Slavs
     - Russians
     - Poles
     - Ukrainians or Ruthenians
     - Czechs & Slovaks
   - b. Southern Slavs
     - Slovenes
     - Croats & Serbs
     - Bulgars

4. Letts & Lithuanians

5. Ural-Altaic stock
   - Turks
   - Magyars

6. Greeks

7. Albanians

National Boundaries ——— Racial Boundaries .....

The object of this map is merely to present the broad outlines of racial distribution in Central and Eastern Europe. Any attempt to indicate the numerous racial minorities and scattered enclaves in Hungary and the Balkans would necessitate treatment on a far larger scale than the scope of the Round Table permits.

Some of the racial boundaries in the Balkans are of necessity somewhat arbitrary, in view of recent events.

In order to help the reader's eye, the Teutonic districts have been left unshaded, while the Slavonic districts are shaded by sloping lines.

(Round Table, London, Sept., 1915.)

LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW AMERICA

CHAPTER I

STRIKING FACTORS OF OUR IMMIGRANT SITUATION

ONE morning Eddie, a flaxen-haired little Bohemian of some four or five years, was in the home of his pastor on the Upper East Side of New York City. As they were standing in the dining-room the pastor caught sight of the fruit dish on the table and the plate of candy on the sideboard. Turning to Eddie, he asked: "Eddie, which will you have? A piece of candy or an orange?" Eddie, intelligently surveying the contents of the fruit dish, unhesitatingly answered: "I'll have a piece of candy, an orange and an apple!"

It is in such a spirit that many an immigrant comes to our American shores—seeking not only the measure of hospitality which we offer him, but seeking all the other good things of American life which are here, but not always offered to him. He comes wanting democracy, freedom, tolerance, opportunity and happiness.

The word "immigrant" has about it an atmosphere of romantic interest such as colours all the history of

our United States. From the first landing of our immigrant Pilgrim Fathers on the rock-bound New England coast, down to the birth of our national independence, on through the Daniel Boone days of the Kentucky border, followed by the El Dorado years of the California gold rush, there has been a zest and glamour about our national history that makes it more absorbing than the fancies of any novel. And in this romantic history the arrival of our recent immigrant fellow citizens is the latest chapter. Could we but see the coming of these millions of Europeans from the perspective of the year 2000 A. D. it would stir all the love of poetry and picturesqueness, all the admiration of adventure and determination that fill our hearts as we now look back on the early days of our national history.

True indeed, but seldom realised, is the view of immigration as it was expressed by a Jew in speaking before a meeting of "Young Judeans" in Philadelphia this past winter: "You who are taught in the schools to think with pride and admiration of the Pilgrims and Puritans who came to this unknown land seeking a spot where they might have freedom of worship and conscience, must remember that your parents with their long beards, their head shawls, and their old country customs are in just as real a sense pilgrims to a land of freedom as were the patriots of 1620. Your parents are deserving of your praise and respect as truly as are the founders of the nation."

It is hard for us to perceive any romance about people and forces that are close to us. We feel that

we need the distance of years to lend enchantment to people for whom the familiarity of actual presence so often breeds in us mere contempt. Unpleasant, strange and unwelcome as our immigrant compatriots may seem on Rivington Street in New York, on Maxwell Street in Chicago, or in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, we must value them not by the unattractiveness of the shell of outward appearance, but by the kernel of ambition, energy, idealism and hope that controls their lives. The kernel is as real a fact as the shell, though it takes more effort to see it.

Out of the mass of statistics that can be used in dealing with these romantic immigrants, telling us of the thirteen million or more foreign born inhabitants of the United States, it is well to turn to a simple but graphic method of having the presence of these hosts of fellow patriots in our midst impressed on our minds. We will take the list of families living in a large tenement house in one of our great cities. Here are the names of the families living in an East 72nd Street tenement in New York City in October, 1915—a list that could be reduplicated in thousands of places all over the country. We would better become accustomed to such names, for they are the names by which we Americans are to be known twenty-five years from now. Here they are (Bohemian, German, Hungarian, Jewish): Ondrovic, Domagalsky, Ruzicka, Goldman, Hilerowitz, Bleier, Spacek, Cerveny, Pariza, Kyzr, Risch, Nemec, Vavra, Wargd, Popp, Feig, Klimacek, Supik, Hoffman, Szewvryski, Janas, Kovacs, Steinhaus, Safr, West, Kotas,

Brejcha, Kral, Korcsek, Dobry, Polakignatz, Zrelak, Weneck, Wassner, Steiner.

As a correspondent of the *Passaic Herald* of Dec. 6, 1915, wrote: "We of this generation may despise the foreigner, but if I can read the signs of the times our grandsons will be seeking their influence in business and in politics and asking their well-dowered granddaughters' hands in marriage."

In becoming acquainted with such immigrant life in America, four or five factors in it are apt to attract one's attention. The first outstanding feature is that of nationalities. In our easy generalities it is so common to lump together in one group all immigrants just as immigrants, whereas one finds on close contact with these newcomers that the various races and nationalities among them are as different as Americans from North America and Americans from South America. What a mystery these nationalities are to us! A Bohemian editor in New York City summed it up in a word when he said: "To most Americans Central Europe is a dark continent."

It is a revelation to learn the facts about the different peoples of Central Europe—facts with which these "ignorant immigrants" are familiar from their childhood. We feel a sense of swelling importance to be able to place Bohemia, Croatia, Lithuania, Galician Poland and Carniola on the maps of Austria-Hungary and Russia, though to one of these Central European immigrants such knowledge is a mere commonplace.

One of the most frequent instances of our lack of careful understanding of the difference in nationali-

ties is the use of the word "Austrian." Nearly every one will tell you that there are a lot of "Austrians" in his town—a term about as definite as the word "Asiatic." As a matter of fact it is hardly correct to call any one an "Austrian," for included in the Austrian Empire are Bohemians, Germans, Poles, Jews, Ruthenians, Italians, Slovenes and others, each with customs and characteristics quite distinct, and sometimes with little love lost between them. To understand the immigrant people in the United States one must know that they are not all of one nationality, or religion or language, and must deal with them with intelligence on this point.

The second feature that stands out prominently in looking at the immigrant situation is the liquor traffic. The presence of saloons is more noticeable in the foreign-speaking sections of our cities and in the industrial centres than in any other parts of the land. Of course most of the people who come to us from these European countries are used to drinking liquor of some kind. The Italians and Greeks, accustomed to the use of wine, demand it here, and do not use nearly as much beer, whiskey or brandy as do other peoples. But among the Slavic peoples our American saloon has been a terrible evil. Drunkenness and brawls have resulted and given to Poles, Slovaks and others a bad reputation, part of the blame for which rests on the American people for allowing such a traffic to exist.

Nearly every leader of every nationality will assure you that one of the greatest evils of his na-

tionality in America is drink. "The old were born with whiskey and they will die with whiskey. Dis is a hard ting. They are sorry to drink, but they must drink," said a well known Ruthenian.

Whether it be among the Magyars of a Connecticut manufacturing city, where the wife of a Protestant minister said she was afraid to go calling in the homes of the Magyars on Saturday afternoons and evenings because of the drinking; or whether it be in the coke region of Pennsylvania, where on a Tuesday afternoon you can walk down the main street of an important town and see saloon after saloon with men elbow to elbow the whole length of the bar; or whether it be Gary, Indiana, with its 27 Croatian saloons for a population of 3,000 Croatians, the fact is black, and a shame on our American history. We shall never get the highest grade of American citizens from our immigrant people until we provide something better than the saloon.

To speak of the immigrants and not to speak of the economic and industrial situation, or the labour question, would be to talk of one half of the Siamese Twins and not of the other. The vast majority of the unskilled labour forces of this country are immigrant workers, and when one stops to see their homes or talk on the streets with these people, he finds very often that the questions of wages, unemployment and hours of work are the main topics in the workers' minds.

The argument against immigrant labour that it is "cheap" labour must be countered by the responsibility

of the employer to pay a living wage. We have blamed the immigrant for accepting a low wage when he has to take what he can get in order to be at least sure of his bread and butter. Miss Kellor surely put her finger on the sore spot when she wrote: "The reason that the tenement fire escapes are cluttered in Rivington Street and free on Fifth Avenue is not, as we fondly suppose, that immigrants prefer fire escapes draped with bedding and pillows and children. The answer is that they move to Fifth Avenue as soon as their income permits."

While in a Pennsylvania mining town in February I went into the home of a Slovak miner. The father was in the State Tuberculosis Sanitarium; the mother was sick in bed; the two youngest children were watched over, the meals cooked and the mother cared for by the second child, who had to stay at home from school to shoulder all these responsibilities; the third child still went to school, but she was badly in need of shoes and a coat; while the oldest girl, who looked about 12 years old but claimed to be 16, a pale-faced, bespectacled, stoop-shouldered, cheerless-looking little creature, stood up 10 hours a day, six days a week at her work in the nearby silk mill for the magnificent sum of four dollars a week! And on this the forlorn family was endeavouring to exist.

Two hundred and eight dollars a year wages for 3,120 hours work, in bad air—and then one wonders sometimes why these newcomers should love America! Touch the immigrant problem and not burn your fingers on the wage and employment question? Never!

Another prominent feature of the immigrant situation is the religious one. To the majority of these European immigrants religion has been an outstanding feature of life at home. The church is as much a landmark as the government. They have been accustomed to a religious observance which has in it far more of outer form and ceremony than that to which the average American is accustomed. Most of them have been adherents of the Church of Rome, or of some Orthodox Greek Catholic Church (Russian, Greek, Roumanian or Syrian). They bring their religious observances with them, as soon as possible erect a church building in their community and secure a priest who is of their own nationality.

Perhaps it is the amount of outer form observed which impresses one with the importance of the religious question among the immigrants. But be that as it may, there are great numbers of the immigrant people who are vitally interested in their church, either pro or con. Go on a Sunday morning to St. George's Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church on East 7th Street, New York City; get there late, and leave early, and meanwhile stand up for two hours in the gallery with every seat, all the aisles and even the stairways filled with hundreds of men and women, and one must feel that these new Americans cannot justly be called irreligious.

But the striking fact is the relation of the Roman Catholic churches (in particular) and the Orthodox churches to the religious life of America. The system of government of the Roman and Orthodox

Churches is that of an oligarchy. When many of these people come to America they begin to feel the surge of democracy in their veins, and the idea that "the people rule" begins to take root in their minds. Then it is that troubles and uprisings in the realm of the Roman and Orthodox Churches begin, for here and there and everywhere the country over one finds independent or national churches springing into existence. These are a new thing on the face of the earth for these people—evidences of the influence of their American environment upon their religious ideas. These movements are extremely interesting phenomena in present-day American life. The increasing number of independent churches among Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Russians and others exhibits not only the prominent place religion and the church have in their lives, but also the necessary adjustment that so many must undergo who come from a land and religion of autocracy to a land and religion of democracy.

Another impressive fact is the existence among the different immigrant peoples of large numbers of organisations, with thousands of members in each organisation. The fact that people like to "belong" to something is nowhere more easily realised than in contact with the immigrants. Nearly every man among our foreign-speaking population belongs to at least one organisation among his own people. Often he belongs to more than one such society, and to some American society in addition.

The majority of these organisations are "sick and

death benefit" societies, which in return for regular dues insure to their members a certain amount of money per week in the case of sickness, care of funeral expenses and a payment to the family in case of death.

Perhaps the largest of any of these societies is the Polish National Alliance. With its headquarters in Chicago, it has a membership of some 125,000, scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Among its other activities this Alliance maintains an Immigrant Home in New York City where newly arrived immigrants are cared for and lodging is given to such as must await funds or friends to travel farther. Employment is secured for those who need it, and every effort is made to protect and assist the newly arrived Polish people. The Alliance has a weekly newspaper to which every member must subscribe. It maintains a large school in Pennsylvania (of which mention will be made more fully later), and acts as a sort of headquarters for all movements for and by the Poles.

There are innumerable other clubs and societies, ranging from small local clubs to organisations with a nationwide membership devoted to athletics, music, literature and women's work. The ignorant "Austrian" or "Hunkie" whom we pass on the street with a feeling of pity and patronage may be the secretary of an organisation of thousands of members, and be far more influential and well known than many a native son of the States. It is an eye-opener to see their four and six-story headquarters buildings, and find how well organised and widespread are their societies. They

give one some idea of the size of our immigrant population and problem.

But the most important fact of all is this: that the immigrants are just people—people like other people—people like home-born Americans—people like you and me—just people. They have their aches and pains, their cares and worries, their joys and sorrows, their disappointments and hopes; they have their questions to face, their decisions to make, their meals to be cooked, their children to bring up, their living to earn—they are just like all other people; they are just people.

Yet how often we "home-borners" will pass them on the street and look at them carelessly as though they were figures of stone and had no feelings at all. Or we think of them "en masse" as the forces of unskilled labour which can be used to do all the uninspiring, dirty, monotonous jobs that we more cultured Americans want done, but do not want to do. We talk about doing this and doing that for the immigrant, as though he was at bottom a different sort of creature from ourselves, when the truth of the matter is that at bottom the immigrant is a human person, and as such he must be treated. For all that he is an immigrant he is a person, and not a dummy or a stick; nor is he a Hunkie or a Polack any more than we are Gringoes.

In a New Jersey town this feeling was expressed in no uncertain terms by a Pole who has a busy and useful drug store there. His business is down in that portion of the town known as "Dundee" where the

majority of the Poles, Russians, Italians and Magyars live, while up "on the hill" across the track live the Americans, who comprise about 15 per cent. of the whole city population of some 65,000. He expressed the need which over and over again impresses one, "If only the American people from 'the hill' would come down here and see the conditions in which we have to live, instead of objecting to our being here, and saying that we are so unwelcome; if only they would get acquainted with us, find out how the police treat us, how the school board treats us, and then try to help us instead of keeping away from us and 'kicking' against us!" And it was echoed in the words of a Ruthenian priest in another city: "There are good laws here about kindness to horses, but none about being kind to the poor Ruthenians."

The so-called "immigrant problem" in the United States is not a problem of the immigrants but a test of the American people. The question to be asked is not, "Are the immigrants assimilable?" but this, "Will the American people assimilate the immigrants?" Too long have we worried about the terrible evils of the immigrants, who, we say, herd together, live in the worst quarters of the town, dwell in terrible housing conditions, accept low wages, do not learn English, and do not obey the laws. It is high time we put the horse before the cart, and asked, "Why have we Americans allowed such demoralising and unsanitary conditions to exist? Why have we allowed the liquor business to dwarf the immigrants' development? Why have we not explained our customs, language and laws to

these newcomers? Why have we not paid them higher wages, so that they might better their condition? Why have we permitted their exploitation by the police, employment agencies and land companies? Why have we not become acquainted with these peoples, so that we know the difference between a Magyar and a Bohemian, between a Lithuanian and a Slovak?" It is America and the Americans that are on trial far more than it is the immigrant. And the first thing for every American to realise is that every immigrant is a human being just like himself—just a person.

CHAPTER II

TYPES OF IMMIGRANT LEADERSHIP

ONE of the questions uppermost in the minds of so many people during the past year has been this: "Are the leaders among the immigrant people Americans in spirit?"

No one definite, inclusive answer can be given to such a question. Perhaps the best way in which it can be answered is this—that the leaders of the second generation and of the younger immigrants are, and must be if they are to remain leaders, American in spirit; while among the older people there are some leaders who are American in spirit and others who are not so.

The worry and talk of newspapers and anxious natives during this past year about the hyphenated Americans have been to a large extent unnecessary and unfortunate. The outbursts of active disorder have been confined almost entirely to the people of German blood, and to only a small proportion of them. The rest of our millions of immigrants have as great a real loyalty to the United States as have any native-born. Indeed, it is hard to escape the truth of the matter as it is expressed so frequently by men of many nationalities: "Of course we would fight for Amer-

ica. You were born here and can't help being an American; but we deliberately chose to come to America, leaving our own country because we believed that here we would have a better chance. We are Americans by choice, not by chance."

The repetition of the charge of hyphenism has been unfortunate, therefore, because it has hurt the feelings of thousands of loyal, foreign-born Americans. Instead of helping matters it has rather aggravated them by estranging, through our apparent suspicion and ingratitude, those who desired to be real Americans. A prominent Magyar in Bridgeport, the president of one of the large Hungarian benevolent societies, said to me that political leaders had "hurt the feelings of the people by their speeches about the hyphens."

It is easy to pass a superficial judgment on the leaders of the immigrants as being un-American. But such judgment is apt to be incorrect. Because meetings may be held by them in a foreign language is not a sign of hyphenism rampant. It is rather a sure step on the road to true Americanism, as it is so markedly in contrast to the restrictions on meetings and the use of language in so many parts of Europe. When a people like the Slovaks find that here they can hold meetings in the Slovak language whenever and wherever they desire, they are bound to have a deep, though it may be as yet unexpressed, appreciation of the freedom of America, for they think back to their homeland and their inability to make the use of the Slovak language that they desired, because of the restrictions of the Magyar government. Many of these new com-

patriots of ours understand the ideals and principles of America far better than we who are native-born. We have taken for granted the privileges and opportunities we have, so that in some new situations we are unable to apply American principles as clearly as can those who, coming here from Europe, have studied and sought out liberty, democracy, and tolerance. Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn says that often the foreigners seem to grasp the real facts better than do the Americans, who are apt to feel more the sentiment and jingoistic spirit of a situation than to see its facts; and that such Italians as those in Paterson will see that they do not have free speech while the Americans are just talking about it.

The danger seems far greater that the leaders, in their desire to seem American, will seize on only the outer appearance of Americanism, and instil into their people a mere shallow Americanism. Thus they may wear American clothes; the mothers may discard their shawls for hats; American slang and profanity may decorate their language; they may go every night to the movies; and they may eat pie and drink soda water, and yet be far from true Americans. This is the true danger—the danger that is becoming too evident among the younger generations, especially of Italians, who in many places are becoming corner loafers, petty thieves and an unstable element in our population. They look Americanised, but are not always American in spirit.

Such gatherings as that in the Coliseum in Chicago on July 4, 1916, when people of many nationalities

met for patriotic exercises, are evidence of the unhyphenated Americanism of many of our immigrant people. The public school is instilling too much Americanism into the hearts and minds of the younger generations for any old country fashions and ideals to have much room for growth in their minds.

It is true, however, that some of the priests (particularly) and other influential men have their faces turned toward the past rather than toward the future. So ingrained in them are their old-world ideas of institutions and customs that it seems well-nigh impossible for them to grasp what America may have in store for them. Such are the men among the Magyars who endeavour to maintain the allegiance of their countrymen to the Hungarian government; and the number of those priests among many of the nationalities who teach their native language and keep up native customs at the expense of the English language and American customs.

But the majority of these leaders are endeavouring to interpret America to their people, and in every way possible to Americanise them. They are printing books on civics; they are helping their fellow countrymen to take out citizenship papers; they are sending their children to our public schools. America owes a constantly increasing debt of gratitude to these men who, unknown to most of the American community, are making Americans of every nationality here.

Who are these leaders, and do they differ among the various nationalities of our immigrant population?

While we are strangely unaware of the well-defined

interest and habits, political, social and religious, that distinguish one European race or nation from another, these distinctions are as real, and seem to many of these people as vital as our own distinctions of black and white. As a consequence the leadership among the various nationalities here differs quite radically in its character and its causes. And yet among them all we can see certain similar types of leaders emerging.

Of course, as among any community of people, there are always leaders who become so solely through the force of their own personality. This you will find the case among the Italians, the Greeks or any other nationality. There is nothing unusual about this sort of leadership—nor about the men who attain positions of influence among our immigrant peoples because of their superior education, or their possession of a fatter purse than others of their fellow countrymen. Here often the early comer to America has the advantage over the more recent arrival. He "knows the ropes," has a little money to lend, can perhaps assist in locating a job, or can be the medium of an exchange of money and letters with those left behind in tax-burdened Europe. Every settlement of Bohemians, Hungarians, Poles or Ruthenians has its steamship ticket agent, whose store is the centre of news and communication between the old world and the new; and the men who own these stores are influential among their people.

But often though a man be prominent and perhaps well known to the American community, he may

not have much influence among the masses of his own people. His prominence may result simply in establishing him among the native-born Americans, while leading him directly away from contact with the mass of his own people. Such is frequently the case with doctors, lawyers and business men—and it is true among all nationalities, not of any one people in particular. The two Italian men in New Haven whose names are best known to the city people at large have not as vital a touch with the life of the Italian population there as have several other less conspicuous but more influential members of the Italian colony.

But there are other kinds of leaders that can be classified best, perhaps, as: traditional, national, educational, business and economic.

The traditional leaders are those who are men of importance in their native communities here because they, or men in like positions, were leaders of the people in the home land. Among the Italians in New York City it is often the case that people from one village of Italy will all live on one city block, while their compatriots of some other village live on the next block. And the doctor here is the man who was the doctor for the village in Italy; the priest for the one block here was the priest there; the banker here, the banker there. In other words, the leaders of the whole community have simply been transplanted to this new environment.

Distinctly a traditional leader is a big, blue-eyed, white-bearded Slav in the Los Angeles colony of Rus-

sian "Molokani." Though unable to speak English except for a very few words, yet he is consulted on most questions that come before this colony for decision. To him the older people look with respect and admiration for his learning and for his wisdom. But with his inability to speak English his influence over the young is not what it is over the parents. He is a "hold-over" leader from the old country, where he was also the most prominent man among this interesting Russian religious sect.

The most strongly traditional in their leadership of the immigrant peoples here are the priests. In Greece, in all parts of Poland, in Italy, in Russia the priest has always been a mighty man, for he has usually been looked upon as a representative of the state as well as of the church. The tenacity with which the Polish immigrants adhere to their Polish Roman Catholic churches is a noteworthy fact when contrasted with the noticeable indifference to the churches that is evident among the Italians here. So strong is the controlling hand of the Polish priests that it is almost impossible for a Pole who is anti-clerical to open a store in any Polish community here. Unless a man has the favour of the priest the people will be afraid to patronise his store. In this way the priests manage to keep a strong hold on their people. It makes one a traitor to his country to change his religion; they feel that to be a Pole one must be a Roman Catholic.

This religious nationalism is strikingly evident amongst the Greeks, who are not Roman Catholics but Orthodox Greek Catholics. In fact, so much so,

that I was told by the secretary of a Greek Orthodox priest that "When you say a man is a Greek you say he is Orthodox, and when you say a man is Orthodox you say he is a Greek." Because of this fact there are few Protestant missions amongst the Greeks. Even those who may not go very regularly to the Greek Orthodox church will yet defend it strongly if any one speaks ill of it.

This sort of traditional leadership among our immigrant peoples holds its sway because it is true that many of these newly arrived Americans will give as their main reason for going to church this answer: "My father and mother went to the church, so why should not I go too?" Quite a contrast with the attitude assumed by so many of us home-born Americans, "I don't see why I should go to church just because my parents do."

However strong this traditional form of leadership may still be among these people, it is bound to lose its hold more and more as the ideals and training of life in America make themselves felt. Especially among the younger people, trained and educated here, the glamour of this old-country leadership fades away.

There is another type of leadership that is now dominant, especially among immigrants who have come here from lands where their national identity has been suppressed. The Bohemians, Poles and Ruthenians have sent us larger numbers of this kind than perhaps any other of the oppressed Southern Europeans, though the Slovaks, too, have contributed their thousands to our pan-national life. Seemingly the appeal

which at present arouses the greatest response in the hearts of these people is the appeal to their national spirit. The Bohemian National Alliance, a rather recently organised movement in this country, has something like 80,000 members, whose desire is to help in every way possible to secure autonomy for Bohemia after the war. Money is contributed, men go about the country speaking in all the Bohemian centres, and nearly all the parties (clerical, liberal and national) among the American Bohemians are united at present for this common interest.

The strongest influence at present bearing on the life of the Ruthenians in America is the propaganda to arouse interest in and help the cause of freedom for the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) after the war. Last November a great congress of about 500 Ruthenians was held in Cooper Union in New York City to further this cause—which is of interest to some 400,000 Ruthenians in this country, to the 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 of them in Galicia, and to the 30,000,000 to 35,000,000 of them in the Ukraine—or Southern Russia. Here again the Ruthenians in America must be the mainstay of the movement, for they have more money than their compatriots in the under-waged homeland, and only here have they the freedom to speak for their people, "ad libitum," through newspapers and pamphlets in their own tongue, setting forth the grievances and hopes of their people.

This formation of National Alliances, and endeavour to assert the claims of nations now under the yoke of foreign bondage, is perhaps the factor of

keenest interest in the lives of these people to-day. It is interesting to note that the national movements are not so strong among the people from Italy, a free land; or among the Greeks, a nation of democrats; or among the Magyars, the rulers of Hungary. But among the peoples who find in our homeland a newly found freedom from oppression the men who can appeal to their national hopes are at present the men of most prominence.

Yet it seems that this national leadership exercised by the men at the head of these patriotic societies cannot be lasting. The farther away from their homeland the years of new environment take them, the less keen is going to be the interest of these people in their European national fate. The second and third generations are not likely to prove such ardent supporters of efforts for Bohemian freedom as are their parents, who have lived in Bohemia before coming here, and have known of its needs and hopes. The influence of this type of leadership can continue only so long as fresh supplies of immigrants come from the old country.

Educationally there is leadership too—a leadership through the printed page. Among all the nationalities represented in our land the newspaper plays an important rôle. Many of those who come here illiterate learn to read at least a newspaper in their own language—a great step in advance over their former situation, and a great eye-opener to a horizon stretching no longer around their own village only, but stretching the whole world round. And, oh, the joy

of being allowed to read a daily paper in one's own tongue—a privilege not always enjoyed by every European! That this is a privilege eagerly seized upon one may easily realise by going to the newsstand kept by a Jew on the corner of 12th Street and 1st Avenue in New York City, where on a winter evening one can buy 27 different newspapers, only 4 of which are in the English tongue, the other 23 including 5 Italian, 3 Polish, 3 German, 3 Yiddish, 3 Hungarian, 2 Slovak, 2 Ruthenian, 1 Russian and 1 Lithuanian.

Many of their papers are merely the official organs of their societies, have room for little else but organisation notices, and thus are not particularly influential in moulding public opinion. Most of them have their news a day late—and in order to save the expense of having their own reporters, simply copy the news items from the American papers, so that what appears in the evening in the American paper will appear the next day in the Slovak paper—yet even such "stale" news is a great advance, for most of these people, over no news at all, which would be their lot if there were no foreign language press, since so many of the older people cannot read our American papers.

The American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers is a corporation to which belong over 751 foreign language papers in the United States and Canada, published in 28 different languages. The potential influence of these papers is shown by their enormous circulation of 8,519,365. The 55 Jewish papers lead with a circulation of 1,625,748, followed by

the 75 Polish with 1,238,418 and the 153 Italian with 1,205,871. The aim of the foreign language newspapers of America, as printed at the head of the Association's own semi-monthly, the *American Leader,* is: "To help preserve the ideals and sacred doctrines of this our adopted country, the United States of America; to revere its laws, and inspire others to respect and obey them; to strive unceasingly to quicken the public sense of civic duty; in all ways to aid in making this country greater and better than we have found it."

And although the influence of this Association on the editorial policy of the foreign language papers is very slight, its main function being that of an advertising agency, the reply of its impressive president to the question, "Do the editors of these papers have large influence among the people?" was at least conclusive. "Of course they have; what do you think I would have them for if they didn't?"

Thus while the aim of most of these papers is to help to Americanise their people, it is interesting to note that nearly all of the foreign language newspaper editors agree that their papers are not read by the young people, but mainly by the old. As one of the men in the office of the largest Bohemian daily in the country, with a circulation of 25,000, said: "The continuance of this paper depends upon immigration; otherwise it cannot grow, as the young Bohemians all take the American newspapers."

A fourth noticeable fact about the leaders among the immigrant people is the prominence of business

men. In many places the different nationalities may not be very well organised, and in such cases the men of most influence are apt to be the business men. They are usually men who have been here a little longer than the others; and though they may not have had any better educational advantages, yet through hard work, economy or business skill they have been able to forge ahead in a material way. They soon come to have the prominent position occupied in every American community by the men of business—a recognition of business ability which has not been so usual a fact in European and Asiatic countries. Thus among the Croatians and Serbs in Los Angeles one finds a clothing merchant who apparently is as prominent and influential among the few thousand of his countrymen there as any one else. Among the Greeks one usually finds that the most influential man is the owner of the largest candy or fruit store in town.

These facts bear out the testimonies of many prominent immigrant leaders as to the impression America makes on the immigrant. The late Bishop of the Ruthenians in the United States said last winter that he had never met an American friend yet who did not want to get some money out of him; that America is the land of the dollar. His assistant, who had been in this country three years, wanted to return to Europe, because in this country every one seemed to be interested just in business. When such an opinion is repeated by such a variety of leaders (merely to mention a few) as a Greek editor, an Italian business man, an Italian banker, a Roumanian editor and a Bohe-

mian minister, it is easy to see how the American Dollar Spirit may seize these people and turn their business men into leaders of influence.

A fifth type of leadership which seems designed to play a more important part in our American life is the leadership held by men who are making their appeal on economic grounds. At present these leaders are not the dominant ones, save in exceptional places, and do not command the recognition that the national leaders do. But among the newer generations, in this country since infancy or born here, this social question is sure to loom larger and larger on the horizon.

At present it is merely a negative leadership—a protest against conditions of housing, living and personal treatment. It finds expression in many newspapers, frequently of the socialistic trend; in union organisations; in labour organisations such as the I. W. W.; in socialist clubs; and even in the gangs that terrorise certain Italian neighbourhoods in their very positive protest against the existing means of law enforcement. But the appeal of this leadership is based on the present, not on the past; on life here in America, not on life as it was and is in any corner of Europe. Consequently it must be more effective here than the traditional or national forms of leadership.

The reason for the labour or social leadership among the immigrant population may be realised by quoting a few clippings from the newspapers. The New York *Tribune* of November 26, 1915, in describing the funeral in Chicago of Joe Hillstrom, the I. W. W. poet who had suffered the penalty of capital punish-

ment in Utah, said: "At the cemetery another long service was held with speeches in Swedish, Russian, Hungarian, Polish, Spanish, Italian, German, Yiddish, Lithuanian and English." Here are people speaking nine foreign languages who feel keenly the importance of economic and social questions.

On January 1, 1916, the Chicago *Tribune* had the following despatch from Hopewell, Virginia: "Bayonet wounds received at the hands of Private J. D. Blue of the Virginia militia last Monday caused the death to-day of L. Schake, a Russian." This Russian had strong feelings on the labour question—or why should he have met his death in a labor dispute at a munitions factory?

On January 8, 1916, the New York *Sun* gave the names of those injured "by the shots of the company's police force" in the strike difficulty of that week at the steel works at Youngstown, Ohio: "Mrs. Helen Toth, George Garsh, Frank Rousa, Dan Monat, George Offis, James Solick, Thomas Zazanick, M. Gahar Adanzerk, George Dapitek, David Ingar, Joseph Rutter, Dominick Chititz, Harry Moko"—practically every one of immigrant blood.

Again, in speaking of the strike of clothing tailors in Philadelphia, the *Evening Ledger* of that city on February 25, 1916, said: "The strike call issued by Rosenblum was printed on big placards in English, Italian and Jewish."

These quotations, which may be reduplicated in essence in almost every day's papers, show the foundation on which is based the labour and social leadership

which is gaining so in importance in the life of our foreign-speaking people. It is an up-to-date appeal, based on present needs and conditions—and it must have a deep influence on our immigrant population.

The remark of a lawyer for the I. W. W. in its cases in Paterson, New Jersey, that the reason the leadership of the I. W. W. was accepted there was because no other leadership was offered, and because the I. W. W. promised better working and living conditions, is a remark that deserves to be remembered. So does his other statement, that the I. W. W. could never be truly successful because of the immorality of the lives of its leaders. But now and for some years to come all who appeal to the economic conditions of the immigrant are sure of a place of leadership.

"If it be desirable to escape such leaders as have offered themselves to the immigrant, and have shown themselves accepted leaders, the Americans of longer standing and perhaps higher education and idealism must buckle down to leadership themselves," wrote Rev. E. F. Allen in the *Survey* for May 23, 1914.

Traditional, national, educational, business, economic—such are a few of the types of leaders that today have an influential bearing on the lives of our immigrant peoples from within their own group life. Such are the movements set at work by these newcomers themselves, and they are a challenge to us. What kind of personal, sympathetic and intelligent leadership are we Americans, with all our wealth of responsibility, offering to these same people? Are we

doing for them as much as they are doing for themselves? Are we giving them finer traditions, higher national ideals, more useful educational opportunities, more honourable business standards, better economic conditions? Above all, are we through these gifts giving to them the spirit of Christ, our Elder Brother?

PART TWO

IMMIGRANT LEADERSHIP AMONG THE SLAVIC EUROPEAN NATIONALITIES

CHAPTER III

THE BOHEMIANS

WHAT pictures of artists, palm gardens, tea rooms, and gatherings of lovers of the fine arts one associates with the word Bohemian! Perhaps such was the day dream that occupied the mind of the public school teacher in New York City one day during the late fall of 1915, who informed her class of children that "all gipsies came from Bohemia."

However romantic and colourful may seem the Bohemia of the imagination, which we conjure up with its gipsies, one will find the Bohemian people a pleasant surprise in their love of education, of music, of cleanliness. And although the description of the Bohemian language as "a combination of a cough, a choke and a sneeze" may seem very appropriate as one listens to this tongue on the upper East Side of New York, yet these Bohemians have managed to spread over the whole United States and conquer the use of the English tongue.

In the very centre of the map of Europe, under the yoke of the Austrian government, will be found the Kingdom of Bohemia with its 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 inhabitants. With a past full of glorious history and a present full of rising national enthusiasm, the real

Bohemia has ever been a centre of interest to Europe and the world.

Turning to the United States, we find here from 500,000 to 700,000 of these Czechs (pronounced like our word "check"), the word which they often use in speaking of themselves, to insure a distinction between their use of the word Bohemian and the French use of the word "Bohemian" to mean "gipsy." In about 1848, when Central Europe was the scene of many uprisings and revolts against mediævalism, these real Bohemians began to seek our shores; and during the ten succeeding years they reached America in larger numbers than has ever been the case since that time.

Like much of that earlier immigration the Bohemians spread out into the Middle West, even to its farms, so that now nearly one-third of our Bohemian population is a farming population. Nebraska, Texas, Iowa, and Wisconsin have large Bohemian settlements. In 1890 three-sevenths of the population of Kewaunee County in Wisconsin was Bohemian; while in certain counties of Nebraska it is difficult to find any but Scandinavian and Bohemian farmers. Among the cities Chicago holds first place in the size of its Bohemian population, with an estimated total of between 150,000 and 160,000. Cleveland and New York City each have some 40,000 or more, while St. Louis, Baltimore, Milwaukee and Cedar Rapids, Iowa, are other important Bohemian centres. Chicago is the second largest Bohemian centre in the world, being surpassed only by Prague, the capital of Bohemia.

But what of the Czech population in the United

States? What is there of interest among them, and what are they thinking about? Who to-day are their leaders?

Their leaders are the men who know what the people are thinking about and lead them in their thoughts and actions along those lines. The outstanding feature of the life of the Bohemians here is the prevalence of the "freethinking" movement. There is no movement of such a nature or comparable in its size among any other national group in America.

These freethinkers are rationalists, and among their number are counted anywhere from one-third to one-half of the Bohemian population of the United States, the percentage varying somewhat in different portions of the country. There are consequently three stripes in the Bohemian coat in America—the Roman Catholic, the freethinking, and the Protestant. The last-named is by far the smallest group, representing not more than 10 per cent. But in New York City a Bohemian editor thought the allegiance of the population there was about equally divided between the three camps; a Sokol leader thought 75 per cent. of the Bohemians were freethinkers, and the rest more Catholic than Protestant; while a Catholic priest in Chicago put the freethinkers down as 50 per cent. and the Catholics as 50 per cent., with the Protestants a negligible quantity.

On the west side of Chicago in a ground floor office of a house on a busy street, sits a man who has been the leader of the freethinkers in that vicinity. A large bodied, dark-bearded man, an ex-Catholic priest, he

has been for the past few years the minister in charge of the Bohemian Freethinking Congregation in Chicago. During the last four years he has had 1,400 weddings, about 350 a year. His congregation meets regularly once a month; he edits a weekly and a monthly magazine, both in the interests of free thought. The freethinkers are in general opposed to religion and to churches—believing in law, evolution and science.

This movement, gathering impetus after the Edict of Toleration in 1789, by which some 100,000 people in Bohemia were enabled to leave the Catholic fold and announce themselves as Protestants after two centuries of complete Catholic domination in Bohemia, fanned by the influence of Voltaire and the French Revolution, finally came out into great prominence under the leadership of Havlíček about 1850. Naturally the Catholic Church fought this rationalistic movement and persecuted its followers. Consequently, as this was just at the time of the large Bohemian immigration to the United States, those who came here, finding religious freedom, gave up all religious allegiance and fell in behind such leaders as Klacel and Naprstek. From that time dates the freethought movement among the American Bohemians.

Yet there has been a difference between the movement here and its development since 1850 in Bohemia. There it has remained a high-minded rationalism founded on a philosophical basis—one might almost say religious in its truth seeking, though opposed by both the Catholic and, officially, by the Protestant

churches. But though its early leaders here were men of sincere thinking, its later leaders have not always kept up to such high standards, and their creed has been in many cases merely entire opposition to religion and the idea of a God. Yet here it has had the unique development of becoming almost like a church itself, with services at marriage and burial. The history of the Roman Catholic Church in Bohemia—with its persecution of the Hussites in the fifteenth century —its attitude in 1618, when it fought against the Bohemian national spirit in the Thirty Years' War—the political power which it has used in the Austrian government—the church tax which it has taken from the people—its siding now, as always, with Germany and Austria as against the longing of the Bohemian people for the victory of the Allies and their own hoped for Bohemian autonomy—all this has been fuel for the fires of the freethought movement. As a prominent Bohemian freethinker and editor said in New York, "The Bohemians don't like the Roman Catholic Church because of its persecution of Bohemians in the Thirty Years' War—and because of its money-making schemes." To them all the church and religion has seemed to be just a business like any other business—for money-making purposes.

The freethinking movement has pervaded all Bohemian activities. In New York City every Bohemian newspaper is freethinking—some ardently so, others not so strongly, yet still sympathetically. The Sokols are all avowedly in favor of freethought, and most of the "benefit" societies are too. The president of a

local Sokol was overheard this past winter saying that if his son went to a church he would break the boy's leg. Then there have been schools for the children on week-days and on Sundays, in which, along with the Bohemian language and history, the principles of free-thinking have been taught.

But strong as the movement still is—the leading factor in understanding the Bohemians in the United States—it is becoming more tolerant than was the case a few years ago. A society of freethinkers, one of whose officers five years ago was offended even to be asked to sing in a Protestant church in New York, this past winter, through this same officer, asked for the use of a room for its meetings in this same Protestant church neighbourhood house. And yet because it did so, several members resigned, and one of the daily papers wrote an article criticising the action of the club, saying that freethinkers ought not to associate with such a work. Yet their schools no longer make use of a rather startling catechism, used until recently, and consisting of questions and answers denying the existence of God, the inspiration of the Bible and other Christian tenets. A prominent business man said that the children of the freethinkers are not themselves active freethinkers, but take an attitude of tolerant indifference toward the subject.

Flavoured as so much of Bohemian life is, in America, with the ideas of the freethinkers, one finds that the influence of the Bohemian newspapers is noticeably strong. It is a fact that the Bohemians are of all the Slavic races the most cultured and best edu-

cated. The percentage of illiteracy among them in 1900 was only 3 per cent., less than that of any non-English-speaking nationalities except the Scandinavians and Finns. Education, reading and learning of all kinds are held in high esteem among them. One reason for this may have been the custom, common among them, of sending the young men for a year to live and study in some foreign land—England, France, America—before they settled down to a life work at home. Thus they stimulated interest in other countries, widened the Bohemian horizon, and tried to bring back to Bohemia the good things they found in these other lands.

But whatever be the reason, it is a fact that the printed word is held in great respect by the Bohemians. Consequently it is not strange to find the editors of their papers men of influence and of culture. There is in New York City one such editor who is a graduate of the University of Prague, his father having been for twenty-one years a representative of Bohemia in the government at Vienna. Coming here to make a fortune and return, he stayed seven years and became a citizen, that he might have protection if he returned to Bohemia, where in his early manhood he had engaged in a duel, though duels are unlawful. He has been back to Bohemia twice, about 1904 making a visit of four years there with his parents, since which time he has been here engaged in journalism. He is now an editor of a Bohemian paper in New York City—a member of the school board—and has a pleasant home in the city. He represents a type of educated leader-

ship that is perhaps more evident among the Bohemians than among our other nationalities.

The largest Bohemian daily, *Denni Hlasatel,* is edited in Chicago with a circulation of about 25,000. Dailies, weeklies, monthlies, an illustrated magazine on the order of *Collier's Weekly,* and even a magazine strictly for farmers—all printed by the Benedictine Fathers in Chicago—point to the influence of the Bohemian press here in America. Though there are a few important Catholic exceptions, this press is predominantly "freethinking." The Protestants are a practical nonentity in this field of opportunity. A priest in New York City assured me that the worst influence (from his viewpoint) among the Bohemian people was the newspapers. This in a sentence sums up the size and nature of their influence.

Now come to a small, clean butcher shop on First Avenue in New York City, and meet a rather short, sandy-moustached man, who stops long enough in his be-aproned business of cutting off red, juicy steaks during the afternoon rush hour to invite us to his home in the evening. Then accompany me several hours later to a substantial brick building of several stories, climb to the third floor, sit down with me beside a red-clothed table and meet our butcher friend of the afternoon. Comfortably settled in a rocker, in his shirt sleeves, he is talking with a young Bohemian friend, while some of the children read quietly by the light of the lamp, and others talk quietly in the darkness of the other rooms of our host's apartment.

"How long have you been here in this country?" we ask our host. "Thirty-two years," he replies, speaking in an understandable but imperfect English. "How did you learn to speak English?" we query. "I never had any schooling in English. When I first came to America I worked in the evenings and had no time to learn English. All I know I have just picked up, learning as I needed it." And so we begin to get acquainted with the president of the "Reds," the name commonly given to one of the Sokol organisations to distinguish it from another Sokol—the "Blues." And the building we are in is the "Reds" Sokol hall, whose upper floors are rented apartments, occupied mostly by members; the ground floor has the gymnasium, barroom, and club rooms, common to so many Sokol halls in our large cities. The "Reds" are composed of the working men and those of a socialistic tendency, while the "Blues" are composed more largely of those a little better off financially. Each of these Sokols has a hall in New York—their combined membership being about 2,000 in New York City. But what are the Sokols?

They are the Turnvereins of the Bohemian and Slavic peoples. They are a combination of a benevolent society paying sick and death benefits—some of them giving $5 a week for the first half year of sickness, $2.50 for the next half year, and thereafter $1 a week as long as one remains sick; $200 being paid to the family in case of death—and of a physical culture and social organisation. There is gymnasium class work practically every evening, and a chance for indi-

vidual work on Sunday mornings. The instructor is often a working man himself, who is paid $20 or so a month for his evenings' work. In the Sokols women have the same rights as men, only they meet separately. Every year the Sokols give annual exhibitions, and every five years there has been in Prague, Bohemia, a gathering of Sokol members from all over the world for an exhibition drill. In 1912 at the celebration there of the fiftieth anniversary of the organisation of the Sokols 1,200 members went over from this country to participate.

On Sunday afternoons it is customary to have some sort of an entertainment in these halls, so that the Sokols become important centres of the life of the Bohemian people. Here dances and theatrical performances are held. And although the unfortunate presence of a bar in many of these halls in the United States is a custom not usual in Bohemia, and profitable only in a monetary sense, the physical training which the Sokols cultivate is a real contribution to our American life. These Sokols play a large part in the Bohemian life in America, and their officers are men of influence.

But during the past year the greatest claim on the thought of the Bohemian people has been that of the Bohemian National Alliance. This organisation is working in behalf of Bohemian independence after the war, and though its organisation is only recent, its members already number tens of thousands.

Bohemia, once an independent kingdom and holding its head as high among the European nations as any

other, has been since 1630 under the Hapsburg Dynasty. Though Bohemian patriots claim for their fatherland an equality with the Austrian Empire, it has in actuality been denied many of the rights of a sovereign or of a loyal nation. There has been great discrimination by the government in school matters in favour of the Germans over the Czechs. In Prague the Germans have schools which the Austrian government pays for, while the Bohemians must pay for all Bohemian schools themselves. Ever since about 1840, when Palacký and others brought into use the Bohemian tongue, which had fallen into disuse and consequent contempt for decades, the spirit of nationalism has been stirring anew within the breast of every loyal Bohemian. The old enmity against the Germans, traceable through Bohemian history from the time of John Huss down to the present day, was roused again, and agitation for more and more freedom from Austrian domination was made in Vienna and in Bohemia.

With the outbreak of the Great War the smouldering fires flamed out. Bohemian soldiers deserted and joined the Serbs—and the activity of Bohemian patriots in behalf of freedom became so great that many were killed and many imprisoned by the Austrian government. Bohemians in America who favour this national movement have been put on the Austrian police blacklists, so that letters can be sent neither to nor from them. In all the neutral and Allied countries representatives of this movement settled and organised, realising that they could thus accomplish more than by

staying in Bohemia and suffering death or imprisonment.

Thus the organisation of the Bohemian (Czech) National Alliance of America was effected, with headquarters in Chicago. All parties have joined in with this movement except a small pro-Austrian party and the Roman Catholics. The latter claim as their reason for this that they do not wish to run the danger of violating the spirit of American neutrality. But the non-Catholics say their real reason is that they know they would lose the control of the government, which they now possess, if Bohemia became a land of freedom and liberty. As one Roman Catholic priest said, "Austria is a Roman Catholic country, and America is a free country."

Nevertheless it is true that this national movement is the chief centre of interest among the Bohemians here to-day. By means of literature, by means of lecturers constantly travelling about the country, by means of great national gatherings, concerts and dramas the people are constantly reminded of their national ambitions, and urged to support the movement. During the first two months alone of 1916, $19,000 was contributed through this Alliance by Bohemians in America for aiding their countrymen in Europe to gain freedom for Bohemia. So it is not surprising that the funds contributed here are an important element in the support of the movement, of which the guiding spirit is Prof. Masaryk, formerly of the University of Prague, now of the University of London. So far have its leaders gone that in the autumn of 1915 they

BOHEMIAN GIRLS IN NATIVE COSTUME

officially issued a declaration of Bohemian independence.

"Are the Bohemian people interesting?" do you ask? And for reply one can only mention their great love of music, especially of the violin, and call your attention to the fact that Kubelik, Destinn, Slezak, Burian, Smetana and Dvořák are all Bohemians. Then speak of their love of colour, remind you of the delightful native Bohemian costumes with their colour and bright embroideries—and quote from Recht: "Many Americans will be surprised to learn that the greatest American picture was painted by a Bohemian (Brozik); that the man who draws the most beautful pictures of the American girl is a Bohemian (Harrison Fisher)." Then go into the restaurant in the hall of the Č. S. P. S.—their most influential national benefit society—on 73rd Street in New York City. There you find four busts adorning the room: one of John Huss, their foremost national and religious leader; one of Comenius, their foremost educational leader, who was invited to be the first president of Harvard University; one of Havlíček, one of their greatest thinkers and philosophers; one of Smetana, a famous Bohemian composer. Such evidence convinces one that the Bohemians are interesting.

With past heroes such as these, and with present leaders who sway them through their newspapers, through their societies, through their religious associations and through their national organisations, such are the hundreds of thousands of Bohemians who are tilling our soil and occupying large sections of our big cities.

CHAPTER IV

THE CROATIANS

THE best and quickest way to make oneself feel at home with the Croatians is to take down a dictionary and turn to the word "cravat." There you will read: "French, 'cravate,' from 'Cravate' a Croatian, one of a body of Austrian troops, from whom, in 1636, the cravat was adopted in France." When one has thus become acquainted with the Croatians he soon becomes eager to know more about them.

The Croatians are a branch of the Slavic race, closely akin to the Serbians. The Croatians come from the provinces of Croatia and Slavonia under the Hungarian government, and from Istria and Dalmatia under the Austrian rule. The Serbs in the United States come largely from Hungary, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, a remarkably small percentage having come from the Kingdom of Serbia.

There are two ways by which a man can tell whether he is a Croat or a Serb: by the church which he attends, and by the alphabet which he uses. If on Sunday morning he finds himself in a church of the Eastern Orthodox faith he knows he is a Serb; if he finds himself in a Roman Catholic church he knows he is a Croatian. If he uses the Cyrillic alphabet, such as the

Russians use, he knows he is a Serbian; if he uses the Latin alphabet, he is a Croatian. Together with the Slovenes, Montenegrins and Bulgarians, these Serbo-Croatians are called the Southern Slavs, their language being sufficiently different from Bohemian, Slovak, Polish, Russian and Ruthenian to make it hard for such northern Slavs to understand the southern Slavs.

In 1910 the census estimated the number of Serbo-Croatians in the United States as 129,254. But as the inflow of these people has been largely within the last ten or fifteen years, it is safe to estimate them as far more numerous. Some of their own people put their numbers at about 500,000 Croatians and 250,000 Serbians; but this is probably an exaggeration. Among the large cities Chicago, Pittsburg and Cleveland rank first in the size of their Serbo-Croatian population; with Pennsylvania outranking all other states in this respect. The mines and mills of Pennsylvania are full of them; 60 per cent. of the workers in the Steel Company at Gary, Indiana, are Serbo-Croatians. The oldest colony is that in California, where they went in the time of the gold rush, some claiming to be among the original "forty-niners." Those who thus early ventured to such a far country were largely from Dalmatia, where they had been sea-faring men, and consequently more inclined to travel and adventure than those who came from the inland farming sections. At present some of them are engaged in the fishing business on the Pacific Coast, while others have gone quite extensively into fruit raising.

When one comes to learn of the leadership and progress of Croatian life in America, he finds that the Croatians are not as well organised as the Bohemians. Ignorance is one of the factors in Croatian life in America which helps to explain their situation here. In contrast with the Bohemians, they have a high percentage of illiteracy. In the expressive words of an owner of one of their newspapers: "30 per cent. to 40 per cent. are unalphabet." The reason for this has been, in particular, the lack of a sufficient number of schools, caused by the discrimination of the Austrian government against Croatian schools in favour of schools for the minority of Italians in some of the provinces like Istria and Dalmatia.

Therefore when these people come to America their ignorance is a great opportunity for all the forces of evil. Bad influences can reach the uneducated easier than good ones. It is not surprising, then, to learn that the position of leadership among them has often been held by the saloonkeepers. This condition, which has held true of many of the nationalities in the history of our immigration, will remain true among the Serbo-Croats and other of the more illiterate peoples longer than among those who have had the advantages of education, and are thus more independent in their thinking and acting. The saloonkeeper has acted not only as purveyor of liquors but also as employment agent, ticket agent and political boss. Although these men have undoubtedly done much to assist their fellow countrymen, it is unfortunate that their doing so has been associated entirely with the liquor business,

for the latter has been more of a hindrance to the development of the Croatian people here than has been well for them. "My people are at the top in drinking," said one editor with great frankness.

The Croatians, too, have their benefit societies, the chief of which, the National Croatian Society, has its headquarters in Pittsburg. A circulation of 29,000 gives to *Zajednicar,* the paper published by this society, the honour of having the largest circulation of any Croatian newspaper in the world. This in itself tells, in a nutshell, the condition of the education of the Croatian people in Europe. This society has as members both Serbs and Croatians, no line of distinction being drawn in its membership. Recently the benefit lodges of the Croatians on the Pacific Coast, owing to some dissatisfaction with the management of the society, withdrew from its ranks, and formed the Croatian Unity Society, with headquarters in San Francisco; but the National Croatian Society remains the most important organisation among the Croatians of America.

The president of this society, who has been many years in America, attended an American college (Wheaton), and is to-day engaged in the newspaper and printing business. He has published an American history and geography for his people, as well as an English-Croatian dictionary, and is now at work on a Croatian-English dictionary. These are the ways in which he is trying to promote the welfare of his countrymen. His reply to the question, "What are you trying to do for the Croatian people?" is a sample of

the answer of leaders among every nationality here. "First, I am trying to teach them to oppose and hate any one who would take away their liberty; second, I am trying to teach them to become American citizens; third, I am trying to advance them in education and culture." With such a goal in view, with such equipment as the benefit society, his newspaper and other publications, this man is bound to be an important element in the development of the Croatians in America.

But the man who is thought by many to be the "biggest" man among the Hrvats (Croatians) in America is a fine-looking, greyish-haired Roman Catholic priest in Cleveland. At his fingers' end are three opportunities for leadership: (1) He is a priest; and any priest who has a strong personality is bound to wield a large influence in any immigrant community. Although the religious situation among the American Croatians is not very bright, yet this priest is an important figure in it. With his parish of 5,000 he embodies what influence Catholicism has among his people to-day, for the Croatians unfortunately are not well taken care of religiously. To supply the religious needs of our hundreds of thousands of Croatians there are not more than twenty or twenty-five Roman Catholic Croatian priests. This is the only form of religion which has been accepted by the Croatians. One reason for this dearth of churches is that the Croatians are scattered in many communities in too small numbers to support a church.

Under such conditions it is easy to see that the power of the priests is decreasing. Where there are no

priests they of course are not leaders. When they do reach a community the freedom from their influence, previously enjoyed, necessarily lessens to a marked degree their leadership among the people. "Are the Croatians here very religious?" evinced the priest's reply, "Not so very." "Are there any freethinkers among them, as among the Czechs?" "You can't say that they are freethinkers, for uneducated people can't be called thinkers; but they are liberal." In this reply lay an added reason back of the remark of one observer, who went so far as to say that 70 per cent. of these people in the United States do not go to any church. Thus blows the wind among our Croatian immigrants to-day.

(2) This leader is a newspaper owner. Through his daily paper, printed in New York City, with a circulation of 12,000, and through a semi-monthly, recently started, he can reach out from his community and touch the minds of all the reading and thinking Croatian public. "American in spirit, foreign in language only," reads the caption over his editorial columns. Such a caption makes one feel the tremendous power that can be wielded through this foreign language press.

(3) He is prominently identified with the national movement, or "Jugo-Slavic League," which seeks autonomy for the southern Slavs of Europe. This league has not as strong a hold on the Croatians, Slovenians and other southern Slavs as have the national movements among the northern Slavic peoples. The organisation is neither so well developed nor so active

as are other nationalist movements, due perhaps to its more varied constituency, and to a more active pro-Austrian party. Again it is the poor educational facilities, the low economic condition, and the governmental discrimination which provide the "casus belli" of this movement against the Austrian government. To those who think that because the Croatians come from Austria-Hungary they must all be Austrian sympathisers, they simply say, "We hate our friends the Germans and Austrians worse than the devil!" Yet there has been enough pro-Austrian sentiment to cause a good many clashes between the rival Croatian and Serbian parties since the outbreak of the war—notably in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

A Croatian artist's conception of the work of the Jugo-Slavic League strikingly portrays the movement. On the wall in our priest's office hung a large picture in attractive colours—the emblem of the league. In the centre was the figure of Justice with her scales; on one side a figure of Hrvat (Croatia) with her enemies —the Austrian eagle and others—and her dead, slaves; on the other side the Croatians in the United States coming to rescue her, one carrying a sword, one a shovel, *one a newspaper,* while behind them stood the Goddess of Liberty. Not for naught has America opened her arms to these people, when such pictures can be drawn.

In a brief way we can thus glimpse what is passing in the minds of some Croatians here—a people who like all Slavs, love music, and whose unusual "tambourla" music and singing societies are important

features of every community. Conditions in California, where some of them have been for fifty years, assure us of the possibilities among these people. There they have many good restaurants and small stores of all kinds, and are finding a useful place for themselves in the community. Many are still ignorant, many are still under the domination of saloon keepers, many are becoming religionless. Yet a small socialist movement, a recent nationalistic movement, and many efforts at education through different agencies give hopeful signs that they are in a transition stage, ripe for progress toward higher and better things.

CHAPTER V

THE POLES

IT is rather hard to realise that for about half a century European diplomacy, wars and alliances had as their "bone of contention" Poland—the Poland occupied by the very people whom we in our vaunted superiority dub "Polacks," and whom we find swarming in our big cities and in our mines and mills. It was about these very people, whom you will find around the Chicago stockyards, or in the anthracite mines, or in the farmlands of the Connecticut valley that Europe was rent in two before ever we became a nation.

Since the famous tripartite division of Poland in 1772 portions of it have belonged to Prussia, Russia and Austria. The Polish population of the United States has come from each of these countries. Yet the Polish language and Polish traditions are common to them all, and there is a community of feeling among them here which is stronger than it was in Europe.

The Polish are among the largest contributors to our immigrant population, having in 1910 joined the army of those who are "seeing America first" to the number of over 1,700,000, and being surpassed in this respect only by the Italians. Well informed Poles in

1914 estimated the Polish population in the United States at 3,500,000. Pennsylvania with its mines has been their greatest lodestone, with New York, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin claiming large numbers of them.

Chicago, again, as with nearly all the Slavic peoples, has their largest group—now estimated at about 400,000. It thus becomes the largest city of Polish people in the world outside Warsaw, and in the minds of some perhaps even surpasses Warsaw. New York has over 100,000, while Detroit, Buffalo and Milwaukee have within their own borders good sized communities of over 50,000 Poles each. Our Polish immigration is not a fact to be lightly passed over, nor dismissed with a glance.

Like the Italians and Jews, the Poles seem to have scattered more generally over all portions of the country than many other nationalities. Up in the Connecticut River valley of New England there recently have appeared thousands of Polish farmers, reclaiming the land left by the old Puritan stock, who have sought easier fields of agricultural conquest farther west. Good farmers as they are, these Polish peasants seem able to make a living in the Long Island truck farms; or in the warm clime of Texas, where, with the Bohemians, they have settled down in large numbers; or out in the newly cleared lands of Washington, where they have many prosperous-looking ten-acre tracts. Whether you go down into the dust of a Wilkes-Barre coal mine, or out to the smoking coke ovens of the southwestern corner of the Keystone

State, or up into the lumber camps and clearings of Wisconsin and Michigan, you are sure to find many representatives of these indefatigable Polish people, earning their bread by the sweat of their brow. They are here and they are here to stay—with us and of us. In fact they are us.

Three features in the life of the Polish people to-day seem most noteworthy: a strongly aroused interest in national freedom for Poland; the size and importance of the Polish National Alliance; and the Polish religious situation.

The same story of a new outburst of love for national freedom is to be told of the Poles that is to be told of the other long subject nationalities. The great uprising of the spirit of nationalism in Europe in the nineteenth century seems to be having its echo in the recrudescence of the spirit of nationalism among the peoples that so largely compose our immigrant population. Although the war has in some measure divided in two the Polish people, yet it seems to be true, as a Polish business man in an Eastern city suggested, that "they are becoming more aware of their oneness as a Polish people in this country than they were in Europe. Here they are getting a national consciousness."

Coming from Austria, Germany and Russia it was unavoidable that some should desire the victory of the Allies, and some the victory of the Central Powers. Consequently there has been one party which has spent much time and money in raising funds for the support of the "Polish Legion," which has been fighting for

Germany, while others have favoured the Allies with support both moral and financial. But stronger than the pull of either of these parties on the hearts or purse strings of the Polish people has been the rallying cry of "Polish freedom." Those who favour this cause trust the promises of neither Russia nor Germany, but intend to use every effort to gain independence for Poland whichever side proves the winner in the war. This has been the battle cry that has proven to be the great unifying interest of all Polish factions in America. *Freedom for Poland,* a magazine printed in English by the Polish National Council of America, has now about 10,000 subscribers, which shows the interest that is being taken in the matter. The noteworthy history of Poland's own independent career, annually revoiced to the people by great gatherings in celebration of the famous Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, has been combined with appeals for the Polish war sufferers to renew interest in the fate of the homeland. Thus during the past year or so the leaders among the people have been those who have led in this national movement.

"The first thing that I wish all Americans knew about the Poles is that the Poles love liberty," remarked a Polish doctor. "That explains much of their actions here."

In passing it must not be forgotten that the boundaries of the Poland for which her patriots here are longing include both Lithuania and the home of the Ruthenians, so that in both cases Polish patriotism

runs counter to the movement of these other two nationalities for their individual freedom.

One thoughtful American Pole holding an official position in the city of Chicago put the matter this way. There are three groups of Poles: (1) Those who come from Poland and so, as Polish patriots, long to have freedom for her. (2) Those who say America is their country, and the question of Polish freedom is not of importance. This class is composed largely of workingmen who, though they may not speak English, yet regard this country as their home. (3) A mediating group, now strongest in numbers and comprising all the leading, educated young Poles. Americans first, they feel that they are also Poles; that the better Poles they are the better Americans they are, and vice versa; that it is good to know the Polish language as well as English; and that the reason such people as the Swedes and Danes are respected is because they have a country of their own. Therefore this third group is eager that Poland should have independence.

It is from this latter class that come the new leaders in some of the larger and older Polish colonies, such as the one in Chicago. No longer do the saloon keepers of the uneducated type hold undisputed sway of the situation in such places.

Closely akin to the leadership of this "national" movement, but basing its efforts more on conditions in America than in Poland, is the leadership of the Polish National Alliance.

One cannot speak of the Polish people in America without telling of this Polish National Alliance. Ac-

quiring its tremendous membership of over 125,000 largely because of its insurance payments, it endeavours to do what it can to develop the American Polish people. It promotes art and singing societies; prints a paper; supports boys in college; and sustains an Immigrant Home in New York City. Since it has as its basis the famous Polish Constitution of 1791, by which absolute religious toleration was established, it remains neutral on the questions of politics and religion. In this latter respect it is quite unique, these two subjects being forbidden points of discussion on the floors of its meetings. As a consequence all parties among the Poles belong to the Alliance.

In every community it is the clearing house for all forward movements among the Poles. Out in a small lumber and farming town in the timber region of Washington is a clean-cut, black-moustached, likable Pole who works for $3.25 a day in a nearby lumber mill, and owns a ten-acre farm where he hopes later to settle down. Though having one of those impossible "zckwy" Polish names, he is known to all the neighbourhood simply as "John," the leader of his people. He is the head of the local branch of the Polish National Alliance, vice-president of its northwest section, and recently one of the two delegates from that district to the triennial national gathering of the whole Alliance. He has the true spirit of America—the "get up and go" style. Under his leadership a Boy Scout troop of Polish boys has been organised; May 3rd is celebrated annually with a parade; land has already been purchased where the Poles hope

soon to put up a building to accommodate their needs in the way of a meeting hall, a place of entertainment and a sort of Polish centre. Meanwhile, as if this was not enough for a few hundred Poles to do, they are building an independent church.

A competent workman, speaking English quite well, though having learned it himself, he is also a wise parent. As his wife only recently came to America and speaks but little English, there is a rule in his household that the children are to speak only Polish at home and only English when not at home. Thus they learn both languages well. Interested in the whole country, he is a type of the leader furnished by the Polish National Alliance.

But the most interesting experiment of the Alliance is an educational one. About four years ago it purchased a large hotel with a golf links at Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania. This has been turned into a school, with the golf links as a farm to supply the school needs. During the past year there were in attendance at this Polish National Alliance Collegium about 140 students taking its regular course of six years. This course is comparable to a course in the seventh and eighth grades of our public schools, followed by four years of high school. Boys under 12 and over 20 are not admitted. Recognised by the State of Pennsylvania as an accredited high school, it has in addition courses in the Polish language, in Polish literature, geography and history. All the teachers are of Polish blood, as are all the students, though any one

who passes the required grades may enter the school, regardless of his nationality.

So large is the building that the offices, class rooms, dormitories, dining-hall, library, theatre, laundry, and barber shop are all under one roof, while nearby is a small gymnasium. In addition a trade school was opened this past year with 39 students, to take a two-year course in lathe and die making. $250 a year is the charge for the trade school students, $100 for the academic courses. Since March of 1915 a third department of some kind has also been opened with a good sized enrolment.

The object of the institution is to present to Polish boys and young men an opportunity to get a good American education, with the added advantage of good Polish training. Some of the professors are Polish born and educated, some American born and educated. The boys, though Poles, are just like all other American boys with their basket-ball games, their school yells, their love of fun and athletics.

The manner in which "it's the pennies that make the dollars" is illustrated by this school is most interesting. The money to make the original purchase and to pay a large part of the annual running expenses is raised by a monthly assessment on each of the 125,000 members of the Polish National Alliance of four cents in addition to the regular dues. Thus, with practically no inconvenience to the members, about $50,000 is raised annually, which constitutes a good share of the yearly running expenses of $60,000.

Engineering, medicine, law and dentistry so far

seem to have been the most popular forms of employment taken up by the graduates. Though an attempt may later be made to include a four-year collegiate course in the curriculum, present efforts will be confined to increasing the scope of the high school work done. The teaching of history and the languages is in Polish, that of the sciences in English, while the books in the library are about half and half in Polish and English.

One of the teachers, though born in Poland, has lived in America since he was 14 years of age. He has had nearly all his schooling in America, finishing with a course at Johns Hopkins. He feels as much an American as any Yankee, yet is able to do his teaching in both English and Polish. Hospitable and hard working, he retains some of that native European courtesy which we in America too often lack.

Such is the work of this institution, which is the only one of its kind operated by any of the immigrant nationalities in America. Such is one of the forms of leadership exercised by the Polish National Alliance, which hopes at some future time to be able to start a similar institution for Polish girls, who hitherto have, of economic necessity, been forced to undertake work so early in life that most of them have had to forego the privileges of even high school education.

Other Polish societies in one way and another are endeavouring to do more than act as insurance companies, though none of them has been so active as the Polish National Alliance. The Polish Roman Catholic Union of America has a membership of many thou-

POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE SPRINGS, PENNSYLVANIA

sands, its headquarters also being in Chicago in a large office building where a paper is printed and a large auditorium is the centre of many national gatherings. The Polish Union is another Roman Catholic organisation that endeavours to help educate young Poles through giving scholarships to deserving students. Singing societies, church choirs and various musical organisations abound; while the Falcons, or Sokols, are as omnipresent as among the Bohemians.

Among the Poles we find that religion is again a point of vital interest. Hitherto the Polish people have been 99 per cent. Roman Catholic—and staunchly so too. Protestantism has as yet been a negligible factor among the Poles, none of the denominations having more than a few churches among them, and most of these small and inadequate. In fact so universal has been the adherence of the Poles to the Church of Rome that a Pole was considered a traitor to his people if he was not a Roman Catholic. How deep-rooted is this feeling the following incident will show. A certain Pole in Wilmington, Delaware, had left the Roman Church and become a Presbyterian. When a stranger there questioned another Pole about him, he received the scornful reply, "No, he is not a Pole; he is a Presbyterian."

The Roman Catholic religion seems to be in the very blood of the Polish people. One needs only one Sunday in a Polish community, be it in Baltimore, Edwardsville (Pennsylvania) or Chicago, to see the power of the Catholic Church. He will find tremendous church buildings, beautifully decorated, and so

crowded that the aisles are filled with devout worshippers almost to the altar rail. It is a fact to be realised and a sight not soon to be forgotten. Or go to the office of the Health Department of a New Jersey city and look over the pictures taken during an investigation of housing conditions in the Polish section of the city. There in small rooms where they found four people sleeping in one bed, where the overcrowding was dismal—on the walls of every room were the inevitable pictures of the Virgin, the crucifixes and the pictures of the Sacred Heart. Such sights force one to accept the belief that "they are tenacious of their religion."

That the priests are leaders among the Poles is thus an unquestionable fact. The priest of a large parish of 700 families in Wilkes-Barre, who has been thirty-six years in this country, summed up the Catholic view of the situation. He said that the priests are the leaders, and that everything is done through the church; that all the Poles are Roman Catholics, except for a few "independents"; and that the Poles had been Roman Catholics since the ninth century, so why should they join any new sect now? Thus even the influence of the newspapers is largely dependent on the religious question, for nearly all Polish newspapers are either strongly in favour of the church, or strongly opposed to it.

The reason that the religious question looms so large on the Polish immigrant horizon is because America has affected it quite violently. The Polish National Alliance, a tolerant, neutral organisation, is

a creature strange to the European Pole, and possible only in America. A recently established Polish paper in West Virginia is to be non-partisan in religion. The editor informed me that it could not be anti-Catholic, because the church is too strong; and that it could not be Catholic, for there are so many who do not like the Catholic Church.

The clearest instance of the effect that democracy has when it first seizes hold of a people may be seen in the outbreaks among the Polish immigrants against the Roman Catholic Church. Were these outbreaks but isolated incidents here and there, they need not attract our attention; but when one finds them in nearly every Polish community from New Bedford, Massachusetts, to Pe Ell, Washington, they assume a large importance.

So far this movement has not been to any great extent led by the socialists or freethinkers. There are probably not more than 2,000 Polish socialists in the country (the Socialist party reports but 1,200 members of its Polish organisation), and the number of actual freethinkers is small, with no organisation such as the Bohemians have. But it has been a movement of the people of all classes; a movement rather of democracy against oligarchy than of Protestantism against Catholicism.

One such case is typical of many others. In the present instance the chief of police, a Pole, favoured the seceders and there was no bloodshed; in Dupont, Pennsylvania, last winter, where almost the identical situation existed, the police were on the side of the

Roman priest, and during a riot several people were killed.

A Western Polish congregation, originally under an Irish priest, finally secured a Polish priest. Eight years ago they built a church costing $6,000. Although in one year alone $2,400 was given toward its cost by the people, there still remains a debt on the church. The church treasurer paid all the money over to the priest, who gave no account of it. When bills came again to the treasurer, for which he had given the priest money to pay, he and his friends became suspicious. Matters soon grew warm, so that one evening the priest was chased about the town, and later locked out of his church.

The rebellious members then instituted a law suit, in which the court decided that while the people owned the church property the bishop had absolute and entire jurisdiction over it. This unfavourable decision, combined with the belief that the bishop and the priest had lied under oath, decided the majority of the congregation to leave the church. They immediately sought out an independent priest and have organised an independent church, with a committee of three to handle all their financial affairs, and with the priest on a monthly salary.

Their reasoning, "This is a democratic country where the people rule; we gave the money for this land and church and so it ought to be ours instead of the bishop's," is a good laboratory case of the influence of American democracy on the immigrant mind.

One of two results come from such a break with the

Church of Rome. Either a man gives up his religious belief altogether, becomes indifferent and then atheistic; or he joins an independent church, often like the Catholic Church in all outward respects, but free from the dominion of Rome, and with its financial affairs in the hands of the laity instead of the clergy.

The first class is represented by some 20,000 of the 100,000 Poles in Milwaukee that recently were reported by the largest Polish paper in the country, published there, as without any church allegiance whatever; and by the exaggerated number of 1,000,000 Poles throughout the country whom one influential Pole estimated were outside the Roman fold. Yet another group is represented by such publications as the *People's Daily* and *God's Whip,* two Chicago papers whose names in large measure give a clue to their constituency. These are the "unchurched masses."

The second class is represented by the large number of independent, or non-Roman Catholic churches springing up throughout the whole country. The most prominent leader in this movement is Bishop Hodur of Scranton. As the head of the Polish National Catholic Church he has jurisdiction over some 36 churches, most of which are in Pennsylvania. These churches still have the mass, confession and images; but an advance has been made in the substitution of the Polish language for the Latin in the services.

While not quite in harmony with Protestantism, this church is violently opposed to the Church of Rome. Bishop Hodur says that if he had a sufficient number

of priests there are 100 churches that he could fill immediately. Under his leadership this National Catholic Church publishes a weekly newspaper with which it claims to reach 50,000 people; has a benefit "Union" with 72 local branches; and uses all the other customary methods of immigrant organisation. It has taken a forward step in campaigning for temperance, but at present is under the handicap of lacking educated men for the priesthood. This makes them a laughing stock in the eyes of the Roman Catholic priests, who nevertheless strongly oppose them.

One other feature of this movement is of interest. Since the first coming of the Poles to the Pennsylvania mining districts thirty years ago, they have retained a good deal of enmity against the Irish, who at that time were responsible for much of the stone throwing and other persecution of the Poles. Thus the predominance of the Irish element in the Roman clergy, particularly among the bishops, has been used by Bishop Hodur as a pretext for building up his Polish *National* Catholic Church. He has stirred up Polish national patriotism to revolt from the domination of the Irish clergy. Thus he has injected a national as well as a religious issue into the struggle. This national question has had not a little to do with the difficulties of the Roman Church in handling the situation, particularly under some of the Irish bishops of Pennsylvania.

Bishop Hodur is the type of a strong personal leader among the immigrants. To talk with him in his study as he sits there in his black gown and his red mitre hat; to overhear him, in commanding tones, giving

instructions to some young men preparing for the National priesthood; to see the crowds of children coming from his parochial school; to see the hundreds of people at his church on a Sunday morning, and hear him preach with tremendous vigour against the intemperance of some members of his congregation, cannot fail to let you into part of the secret of his success—his own personal power.

In summing up the leadership of the Polish people in the United States, one finds several different types. Though the saloonkeeper still holds sway as leader in many a Polish mining settlement, in general it is the priest who has the most universal position of authority. But even he is being disputed now by the many independent church leaders. While the heads of their great fraternal and athletic organisations are leaders in much of the activity of the Polish colonies, during the past few years it is the "national" leaders who have met with the most eager response from the people.

Suffice it to say that for the future a fine body of young Poles with American education is coming to the front, assuming positions of leadership in all the professions. In older communities, like that in Chicago, they are more and more active, filling city and county official positions and winning high respect. Facing the big problems of poverty, ignorance and drink, they can do much for our strong, liberty-loving, hard-working Polish compatriots.

CHAPTER VI

THE RUSSIANS

IN proportion to the tremendous numbers of this, the largest branch of the Slav race, the Russians have sent us comparatively few immigrants. It is very difficult to find out in any definite way their total numbers here, for many who come from Russia are not real Russians, but Jews, Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, Ruthenians and others. The 1910 census figures of 95,137 Russians in the United States seem at present a rather misleading figure. The editor of their largest paper, who recently made a country wide trip to all the Russian centres, estimates our Russian population at 300,000. These are real Russians, or Great Russians, to distinguish them from Little Russians (Ruthenians) and others.

Probably New York has the largest share of these people, followed by Pennsylvania and Illinois. Out in the Dakotas is quite a group of Russian Germans engaged in farming. They are part of a colony of Germans who for many years lived in a certain section of Russia, yet still continue the use of the German language. Hence, though they hail from Russia, they are rather German than Russian.

Of the cities, New York seems to have outstripped

Chicago in this one branch of the Slav family at least, with an estimated 30,000, as against a probable 20,000 for Chicago. Philadelphia has a large colony, while far distant Los Angeles and San Francisco are near the 5,000 mark in each case. So that, while not found so frequently as the Poles, the last six years has seen the coming of quite a goodly number of these children of the Great Bear to numerous sections of the country.

In the United States we have come to rather pride ourselves on the large assortment of peoples and nationalities that are found in our population. But we are not the only pebbles on the beach in that respect. "The number of dialects and languages spoken on Russian territory amounts to 150," says Alexinsky, in his recent book, "Modern Russia." Russians though they may all be to us, they are as different from one another as are some of our own racial elements. This fact makes it difficult to differentiate in speaking of Russians, and we will have to be content with using that term in rather a vague way. In fact 80 per cent. of the Orthodox Russian Church membership here is composed, not of real Russians, but of Russians from Galicia in Austria.

Of all our newcomers the Russians are probably the most ignorant. Impossible as it seems to believe, Alexinsky says, "According to the census of 1897 the proportion of illiteracy in Russia was 79 per cent., or 69 per cent. in the case of males and 87 per cent. in the case of females." Compare this with an illiteracy of only about 1 per cent. in the United States! The government of the Czar has apparently been more

liberal in building prisons than in building schools, one young Russian remarking that in his home town there were more prisons than schools. Under such conditions one cannot expect to find a very advanced state of enlightenment among the Russian immigrants here, though one is pleasantly surprised to find that the percentage of illiteracy is less among the Russians coming to America than in Russia itself.

Therefore in understanding our Russian population we must take into consideration their lack of education. It explains the slowness with which they learn English, for when they are unable to read or write their own tongue it makes doubly difficult their efforts to acquire a new language. Added to this is their use of an entirely different alphabet, so that one is prepared to be lenient with their linguistic shortcomings here.

It is quite evident that among such people the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church, to which we shall refer hereafter in this chapter simply as the Orthodox Church, should hold a prominent place, with its priests as leaders. So closely connected are the Church and State in Russia that it has been part of the patriotism of the ignorant peasant to belong to the Orthodox Church, which is the state church of Russia. Wherever there is a lack of education, a religion which has much ceremony and display, combined with governmental authority, is sure to hold a commanding sway over the life of the people. So it has been in Russia; and so it is among the illiterate portion of her immigrants here to-day.

One cannot go to a service in one of their churches

without feeling the sincerity of their devotion as they kneel in the midst of the crowded church to worship, regardless of all onlookers; and without feeling the attraction of the service with the wonderful Russian singing. Having no instrumental music, but simply a choir of boys' and men's voices, the range and richness of the tones far surpass anything else of the kind in the country. To stand with the hundreds of men on one side of the Cathedral (as there are no seats, and the women and men remain on opposite sides of the church), to see the hundreds of burning candles, the beautiful pictures surrounding the altar, to hear the deep voice of the priest as he swings his censor and intones the service, to marvel at the beauty of the choir's responses, to feel the reverence of the worshippers as they cross themselves, kneel, and burn their candles is to realise something of the hold that the church must have on the Russian people.

The Russian Orthodox Mission—as the official title of the church here reads—has its headquarters in its beautiful St. Nicholas Cathedral in New York City. Under its direction are 300 parishes in Canada and the States, with an archbishop for Canada and one for the United States. Their number of parishes is constantly increasing, 17 new congregations being reported between May and December of 1915. A weekly church magazine is issued, with occasional articles in English; an Immigrant Home is maintained in New York; while the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Benefit Society in Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, has 7,000 members, in twenty years has paid out $470,000 in sick

benefits, given $34,000 to new churches, and helped to erect 89 churches.

The Orthodox Church of Russia is closely akin to the Orthodox Churches of Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Syria. Each is under its own "metropolitan"; each has its service in its own national tongue; but in them all the belief and ritual are about the same.

The Russian Orthodox Church has a theological seminary at Tenafly, New Jersey, to train its future American priests. In the year 1915-1916 there were over 30 young Russians taking the course there, most of them American born, but all in need of much training in the use of both the English and Russian languages.

The priests do occupy a high position in the minds of their simple Russian people. The church is everything to the Russian people. "All their hope is in the church," said one young fellow speaking of his people.

In Passaic, New Jersey, is the largest of the Russian Orthodox churches in America. Its priest is a type of the new leadership the church is furnishing here. A large-bodied, moustached man (not bearded as are the priests from Russia), born in America, and educated in our public schools and at the Russian Seminary, he is still a young man. But when an old man came into his study, bowed low before him, and without a word obeyed every suggestion of the priest, it was easy to see how ingrained in the Russians is a reverent regard for every word or wish of the Orthodox priests.

Another priest, representing the older generation,

is a tall, black-bearded individual. As former rector of the Russian Seminary, and as archpriest of the Cathedral in New York City, he is a man of prominence in the councils of the Church. In addition to his other duties, he edits the weekly *Russian Orthodox American Messenger*. Able to speak English only with difficulty, he yet sends his small son to the public school, as the Orthodox parochial schools are still small and inadequate. The small boy assists in the services at the Cathedral, this fact probably explaining his preference of the Russian to the English language.

The Russian Orthodox Church has no connection with the Roman Catholic Church. While its head is nominally the Czar of Russia, the practical management of its affairs is in the hands of the Holy Synod, composed of five men in Russia. It differs from the Roman Catholic Church in that its priests may marry before they are ordained; that its priests need not be shaven; that it uses the old Slavonic language in its ritual instead of Latin; that it gives communion in both kinds to the laity; that it makes use only of pictures, not of images, in its churches.

The Mission in America is under the control of the Russian government, which appropriates $35,000 for it each year. Yet a hopeful sign of progress is the evident willingness of the Church authorities to allow the ritual to be read in English rather than in Russian as soon as the second generation demands it.

While the Church and priests, many of whom are in America only temporarily, are influential among the

followers of the "status quo," there is another element which is influenced more largely by some of the Russian papers. Chief among these is *Russkove Slovo,* a progressive paper issued in New York City, and the largest of them all in point of circulation. Its editor feels that its influence is large in New York and New Jersey, where the Russians are more radical, while in Pennsylvania they are more ignorant, and so more inclined to hold fast to the Orthodox faith.

This editor is a good type of the more enlightened leader among the Russians. Well educated, well read, well travelled, he gave up his early intention to enter the priesthood; became an editor and teacher; was, like so many thinking Russians, exiled to Siberia; thence escaped to America, where he has been in the newspaper business for five years. Pleasant to meet, he directs the policy of the paper along progressive and liberal lines, but not in a socialistic or revolutionary way.

Unfortunately a good many of the Russian papers here are of the more radical type. In Chicago the only Russian paper, until recently, has been the I. W. W. one, though now a small weekly, independent paper has sprung up. The influence of the papers here is limited because of the illiteracy of the people, and none seems to have a circulation of over 30,000.

Of leaders there seem to be few who really affect the life of the Russian people here. The priests do not seem very effective in moulding the character of their people, but rather act as formal leaders. There are almost no societies with a country-wide organisa-

tion, the Orthodox Church being as yet the only large national influence for holding the people together.

What are the greatest needs of the Russians in America? Education and freedom from the curse of drink. As the young American born Russian in charge of the Immigrant Home in New York remarked, the Russians seem to be at the bottom of the nationalities here. Ignorance starts them there and drink keeps them there. The preponderance of men in their immigration aggravates these troubles, as do the bad housing conditions which we permit, and the lack of opportunity we present them for bettering their physical, mental and moral condition.

Another factor of importance in the Russian situation is this—the presence of revolutionary ideas. Their leading doctor in Chicago, an American trained young fellow, catalogued the Russians in Chicago as belonging to five parties: the Orthodox, the Independents, the Socialists, the Anarchists, the I. W. W. Socialist papers are common. The most interesting feature of a concert and dance given on the north side of Chicago one Sunday night in the spring of 1916 by a Russian club was the presence there of a clean-cut looking young chap, quietly selling copies of the Russian I. W. W. paper. The fact that another young fellow pulled from his pocket to show to two of his companions another paper, in a foreign language, bearing the stamp of the Social Democratic party, made this movement of social unrest seem even more significant among them.

The presence of many exiles in the Russian colony

of San Francisco, most of whom are from Siberia, gives a happy hunting ground for anarchistic propaganda; while a glimpse into the hall of the Union of Russian Workers in Seattle (a union having about 1,000 members all over the country)—with its socialist, anarchist, and I. W. W. literature and pictures, awakens one to a sense of the importance of this sort of movement among the Russians.

There the most prominent feature in the room was a huge picture covering the whole front wall. It represented a gigantic figure carrying a torch called "Revolution." Over this was a frieze in three panels. On its left panel a man in jail; on the right panel the figure of an unemployed man carrying a heavy sack as he walked down the railroad track; on the middle panel, and with a river of blood flowing through its centre, was a big figure of labour breaking the chains on its legs, kicking the Czar over a precipice, and crushing a capitalist in his arms, while a priest lay sprawling in front of him. It gave vivid expression to the revolutionary view of government, religion, and the "status quo."

One doesn't need to hear more than one fine-looking young Russian socialist argue stoutly with the speaker in a small mission service in Philadelphia about the existence of God to feel the intensity of their need of something more hopeful than they are now getting. Too long have we left them to be the prey of the saloon, the pool hall, the I. W. W., and all the destructive influences of the worst in American life.

But one peculiar group of Russians must not be

overlooked in this brief survey. In the West, chiefly in Los Angeles and San Francisco, but in smaller groups in other parts of California, in Utah, Arizona and Mexico, are living the Molokani, or Russian "Holy Jumpers." Coming from the Caucasus mountain region of southeastern Russia, they have reached America on a religious pilgrimage, led by the guidance of the Spirit of God.

The following has been written of them: "Closer akin to certain Western forms of dissidence from traditional Catholicism, though of native growth, are the Molokani, so called popularly because they continue to drink milk (moloko) during fasts. Their origin is unknown, but they are officially mentioned as early as 1765. They style themselves 'truly spiritual Christians,' and in their rejection of the sacraments, their indifference to outward forms, and their insistence on the spiritual interpretation of the Bible ('the letter killeth') they are closely akin to the Quakers, whom they resemble also in their inoffensive mode of life and the practice of mutual help. Both the Molokani and the Dukhobortsi, another dissenting sect, deny the authority of the civil government as such, and object on principle to military service. The former, however, give little trouble."

Their belief is a queer combination of Judaism, Quakerism and orthodoxy. The men never shave and of course have long beards. Their costume is distinguished by the use of a Russian blouse and the wearing of a small blue, visored cap, while the women wear head shawls and prettily stitched and embroidered

skirts. Like the Jews, they have their own butcher, who keeps their meats ceremonially clean by letting off all the blood in the process of killing. They do not smoke or drink; often kiss one another in greeting; do not believe in fighting; and have a patriarchal form of government in which the father is the ruler of the family so long as he lives, all the sons living with him even when they are married (often with great resultant overcrowding of living quarters). The father's permission apparently is necessary even for the purchase of a new suit of clothes by a married son.

They have no priests or ordained ministers of any kind, but in a democratic way seem to divide among themselves the honours of addressing their meetings. In every home is a Bible, which is also on the table in each place of meeting. Some sort of gathering usually takes place every night in the week, though Saturday nights and Sundays are the times of their largest gatherings. The meeting consists of Bible reading, prayers and a great deal of singing of Psalms, in tunes which the Spirit has taught them. It is during the singing, which is very loud and intense, that the Spirit moves them in mysterious ways so that they jump about in great excitement. It is from this fact that they have received the name "Holy Jumpers." To sit in their midst, see at one end of the room these big Slavs with their sharp eyes and long beards; at the opposite end of the room a huddled group of women; and then to hear their weird, wild singing and stamping of feet, is enough to make one imagine himself in the wilderness of the far away Caucasus.

Their number in Los Angeles is estimated at nearly 4,000, of whom scarcely one has ever had any education. Their life is Puritanically strict in every respect, their belief in the Bible strictly literal, their hatred and disgust for the Jews and the Orthodox Russians outspoken and their obedience to the mysterious movings of the Spirit of God in their lives is implicit. Yet even among themselves there are divisions, and they have some minor differences in their services. Knowing but little English, it will be interesting to watch the effect of American education and environment, through their children, on their religious faith.

Such are some of our Russian fellow citizens, who have so far not come to us in any great numbers, but who may come over in great numbers after the war. With their Church and their papers the only two agencies of prominence; with the labor agitation strong among them, particularly in a revolutionary aspect; with their ignorance a tremendous handicap; but with their farming ability and almost limitless physical strength a valuable asset, they are a challenge to us to do more than sit supinely by and complacently await results.

CHAPTER VII

THE RUTHENIANS

OF all the Slavic peoples probably the least familiar to the American public are the Ruthenians. They have been known here by a good many names, first as Russians, then as Little Russians, then as Ruthenians. Now they are trying to acquaint us with the term Ukrainians. They claim that Russia contains about 32,000,000 Ruthenians, living in her southwestern provinces centring about Kiev; that about 3,000,000 of them live in Galicia, Bukowina, and Hungary; that 500,000 of them are in the United States, 200,000 in Canada, and 50,000 in South America. This makes them an important element in the population both in Europe and in America, though it is somewhat doubtful whether 500,000 is not a little exaggeration in estimating the number of American Ruthenians.

Suffice it to say that they deserve more attention than has been given them by the common run of Americans, and that they are more in evidence here than our paucity of information about them would lead us to expect.

The mines and mills of Pennsylvania, as usual with the Slavs, make that state the banner state for the

Ruthenians in point of numbers, while Illinois, New York, New Jersey and Ohio seem to attract the majority of the rest of this rather recent immigration. The only noteworthy farming colonies are in the Dakotas, though in Canada these Ruthenians are more largely engaged in farming than in any other occupation. Of the cities Pittsburg and Chicago, with Ruthenian populations approaching 30,000 each, seem to be foremost, though New York and Jersey City are also large centres.

The Ruthenians have the general appearance of being Slavs, as they are rather short of stature, square faced and heavy featured—and often look very much like Russians. The vast majority of our Ruthenian population comes from the Austrian province of Galicia, and the Hungarian province of Bukowina, with but few from Russia itself. Lemberg, of which we have read so often in the war reports recently, is a great Ruthenian centre.

Like so many of the submerged nationalities, the Ruthenians in America have given their chief thoughts within the last few years to a propaganda for national autonomy or freedom. Their reasons are these: The population of Galicia consists of Poles, Jews, and Ruthenians. The Poles have the political power and are the land owners; the Jews have the money and run the business; the Ruthenians are the peasants and labourers. As a consequence, they cherish no love for either the Jews or the Poles. All their efforts to gain redress by law for any suffered grievance avail them nothing, as the Poles rule the governmental machinery

of the province; they are unable to succeed financially because of the control of the land and money markets by the Poles and Jews; and they have had to take Polish education or none at all because of the fear and disgust of the Poles at anything Ruthenian. The unfortunate remark, "You are a Ruthenian dog," made by a Polish school teacher in Galicia to the little sister of a man who is now editing a Ruthenian progressive paper in New Jersey, gives a clue to the feeling existing between the two peoples there, both by the remark itself and by the memory of it still rankling in the breast of this man in America. Ignorance and oppression, both economic and political, have been the lot of the Galician Ruthenians.

In Hungary the lack of education among them has been even more evident than in Galicia, where a good many schools have been open to them, including the famous University of Lemberg. In Russia the use of the Ruthenian language has been forbidden in so many ways that dissatisfaction and distrust of the Russian government have been often fanned to fever heat.

When they have tasted of American freedom and liberty a great desire has seized these people to free their brethren in Europe from their chains of oppression. So it is that recently the men of most influence among them have been those who have stirred up the fires of "freedom for the Ukrainians." The word Ukraine, meaning "border," is used to designate the parts of Russia, Austria, and Hungary occupied by the Ruthenians.

From different parts of the country over 500 delegates representing over 400 Ruthenian organisations gathered in Cooper Union for a congress in the fall of 1915. They called it "The First Congress of Ukrainians in the United States." The platform was covered with bunting of light blue and yellow, the Ruthenian colours, though the only flags in evidence were numerous "Stars and Stripes." Behind the platform hung a large picture of Shevchénko, their great national poet; while on either side of this hero hung pictures of Lincoln and Washington.

Presiding over the Congress was an interesting personality. Short of stature, black of beard, it was easy to recognise that he was not a native born American; but he is probably the leading Ruthenian citizen of Chicago. By profession a physician, a specialist, he has his office in the centre of the Polish and Ruthenian district there. He came to America in 1886 to edit a paper for a year, having just finished a course in the law department of the University of Lemberg. But soon after coming to the United States he decided on a medical course, which he took at Johns Hopkins. Though he has been back to Austria several times since 1886, it was always to return here again, where he now has a delightful home, surrounded by walks, trees and shrubs, on the north side of Chicago. Well versed in his profession and in history, with a fair command of English, he mingles with all classes of the Ruthenian people impartially, in order to arouse their enthusiasm for a free Ukraine.

This congress in New York City brought the na-

tional movement to a head by the formation of a committee which is endeavouring to bring all sections of the Ruthenians in America together. They have sent out appeals in behalf of the Ukraine through the American press; they have sent lecturers through all the Ruthenian centres to spread interest in this demand for an autonomous Ukraine after the war. Since their oppression has been most severe in Russia, all are supporters of the Central Powers in the Great War. Though they have no love for Austria-Hungary they have even less for Russia, whose defeat they heartily desire. An autonomous Ukraine, with freedom of speech, language, education and religion, is their dream.

The hero of this national movement is a fine-looking young man whose story is of unique interest. A student at Lemberg in 1908 during the governorship of Potocki, a Ruthenian-baiting Pole, this young fellow gained an audience on Palm Sunday with the Governor. Drawing a pistol, he calmly fired three shots at Potocki, stating some Ruthenian outrage as the cause for each shot. Making no attempt to escape, he was seized and imprisoned, though some political exigency prevented his being immediately executed for the Governor's assassination. Later his sister came to America, toured the Ruthenian colonies in Canada and the States and raised some thousands of dollars. Returning with this money, it was judiciously used; a jail guard was bribed, a jail guard's suit given to the prisoner, who, walking quietly out of the prison in this suit, made his escape. Hounded for three

months, hiding in barns, haymows and woods, he finally reached Germany, made his way to Sweden, and there took up university work again. When the Great War broke out he went back to Austria as a newspaper reporter, hoping to enlist against Russia. But being assured by friends that he would be recognised and punished, he returned to Sweden, and thence came to America under an assumed name a year or so ago.

So strong a Ukrainian patriot is he that in the fall of 1915 he went to the Ellis Island authorities and revealed his story in the hope that his case would come up for trial by the government. In such event his trial would receive attention in the newspapers, and, regardless of whether he were convicted or not, it would bring into prominence the whole Ukrainian question. But unfortunately for that purpose the federal authorities released him, on the ground that it was a political crime which he had committed, and therefore it was not a basis for his exclusion.

Such is the man who is the hero of the national movement in the eyes of the people. During the winter of 1915-1916 he was one of the travelling speakers for the national committee here, and now has taken up work as an editor of a Ruthenian Socialist paper in Cleveland. He is an advocate of American citizenship, which he constantly urges on his people, believing that thus they will have more influence on the future of the Ukraine than if they do not become citizens.

Involved in the Ukrainian question of nationality

is the question of religion. The Ruthenians in Austria-Hungary belong to the Uniat or Greek Catholic Church, one of the few peoples who do hold this somewhat unique religious allegiance. The Uniat Church is a cross between the Russian Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches. Although the Greek Catholics acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and are thus officially under the Roman jurisdiction, yet in their service they retain the old Slavonic ritual and language of the Russian Orthodox Church, while married men may be ordained to the diaconate and priesthood. These phenomena are due to the historic necessity that was met by the Poles, who as Roman Catholics found it impossible to force Catholicism on the conquered Ruthenians with their Russian religious history, unless this Greek Catholic compromise was made.

There has been great rivalry between the Greek Catholic and the Russian Orthodox churches. As has been noted before, the majority of the adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church in America are from Austria-Hungary, while the same is true of the Ruthenians here. The religious question has been turned largely into a political game, in which the Orthodox churches represent Russia, and the Greek Catholic stand either for Austria or for Ukrainian freedom. Each claims to be the real church of the people, though a Ruthenian business man in New York City summed it up by saying that the Orthodox Church was a government church, while the Greek Catholic Church was a national church.

Many even go so far as to claim that this Ukrainian

A RUTHENIAN GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH,
PASSAIC, NEW JERSEY

national and religious question was one of the causes of the present war. Russia, fearing the spread of Ukrainian national sentiment in her own domain by those who went to Galicia to study, and were there fired by national patriotism, and came back to spread their doctrines of revolution in the Russian Ukraine, decided she must conquer Galicia and suppress this movement at its source.

However that may be, it seems to be a fact that when Russia makes progress in her war in Galicia the Orthodox churches here have increased congregations, while when Austria drives back the Russians the Greek Catholics have crowded churches. This rivalry is aggravated by the custom of placing the two churches very near each other. Thus within two or three blocks on 7th Street in New York City there is one church of each variety whose main interest seems to be to draw adherents away from the other. Again, in New Salem, a small town in the coke district of Pennsylvania, there was a large Greek Catholic Church. Learning of some trouble in it two years ago, the Russian Orthodox people built another church directly across the street from that of the Greek Catholics, and have thus succeeded in winning away from the latter about 1,000 adherents. The Russian priest in this church confessed that the main part of his work was simply to get people from the other church.

Yet another factor in these church difficulties has been the lack of harmony between the Galician and Hungarian Ruthenians. All through Pennsylvania there has been discord, so that, though there is only

a slight difference in their languages, the two factions have, wherever strong enough, split off and erected two churches instead of one. Sometimes they are both Greek Catholic churches, sometimes the Hungarian Ruthenians have turned to the Orthodox allegiance.

The Hungarian branch has a Greek Catholic Union, with headquarters in Homestead, Pennsylvania, with a pretentious building and a reported membership of some 67,000—far larger than any of the Ukrainian associations. Yet much of its membership is not Ruthenian, but Slovak, so that the paper of this Union is printed in two editions, one using the Latin alphabet (for the Slovaks), the other using the Russian alphabet (for the Ruthenians). The members of this union call themselves Ugro-Russkes, or "over the mountain" Russians, as they live in Hungary, over the Carpathians from Russia.

It is very difficult for an outsider to get a clear understanding of the differences between these various Ruthenian parties. The issues are so befuddled by a combination of national, religious, linguistic and political hair-splittings that they seem to make a very large tempest in a very small teapot. It is easy to echo the opinion of one leading Ruthenian, who has long lived here, that it is best to pay no attention to a lot of the so-called leading Ruthenians, because they spend so much time quarrelling with one another that they accomplish nothing. This lack of a "pull together" is very evident in the leadership of the Galician and Hungarian Ruthenians.

The storm centre has been a man of outstanding

personality, who died in the spring of 1916—Bishop Ortynski, head of the Greek Catholic Church in the United States. Large of body, dominating of personality, a hard worker, he was personally very ambitious. Cordially as he was disliked by many of the other Ruthenian nationalists, his was an influence that could not be overlooked. Only reaching this country in 1907, he had become an American citizen; had built up the church in Philadelphia of which he was in charge, from 400 to 10,000 members; had collected enough money to purchase 18 buildings in the few blocks about his church; and in these buildings he had in operation shortly before his death a printing establishment with a daily newspaper—an orphan asylum housing 130 children, most of them having lost their fathers in Pennsylvania mine accidents—a school for these children—a rug factory where, under a competent weaver from Galicia, he hoped soon to have a very large output of strong woven rugs—a home for 19 boys being trained for the priesthood and other professions—a meeting place for a club of 300 Ruthenian American citizens—and a headquarters for a benevolent society of some 4,000 members.

Heartily opposed by the Hungarian branch of the church because he was a Galician, combated by the Ukrainian leaders because of his refusal to join in with their movement unless he could run it to suit himself, disliked by the small but important Protestant element because of his personal character, one could not be with him for even a few hours and see men and women rush up to kiss his hand and obey his

slightest behest without knowing that his was a position of leadership. When he was asked who were the leaders among the Ruthenian people one was not unprepared to have him reply, "The priests are the leaders—and they get all their instructions from me."

It is undoubtedly true that the priests are men of much influence among these peasant Ruthenians. But the moral and spiritual quality of their leadership is often secondary to their material and political interests. It is a stirring sight to go on a Sunday morning to their largest parish church in this country—St. George's, on 7th Street, in New York—and see their church packed with men and women, who will stand up during a service of nearly three hours' duration, and follow the service very reverently. This parish with its 10,000 to 15,000 adherents, combined with the great size of many of their church buildings in other places, impresses one with their religious interest. They have about 150 parishes throughout the country.

The newspapers and "sick and death benefit" societies are also prominent features of the Ruthenian life in America. The Ruthenian National Association with its headquarters in Scranton has about 6,000 members, while the Ukrainian National Association with its headquarters in Jersey City has about 8,000. The president of the latter in 1916 was found in McAdoo, a small mining town up in the anthracite hills of Pennsylvania. When he came here in 1888 at the age of 17, to join a cousin, there were only a very few Ukrainian families in the United States. Starting out

as a helper around the mines he became successively a scraper, a miner, and then a grocer. But for the last fourteen years he has run a small saloon (though he neither drinks nor smokes himself), combining with this a notary public and banking business. He is now a director in the town bank, and president of the borough council. Such in brief is the story of the son of an illiterate Ruthenian army officer; a man who now occupies a position of respect and leadership, not only among his own people throughout this country, but in his own home town as a leading American citizen.

The association of which he is the president aims, along with its insurance work, to educate the Ruthenians through its newspaper and through monthly pamphlets of an educational nature along historic and civic lines; and to educate Americans to the facts about the Ruthenians by frequent articles in our newspapers.

As with so many of our immigrant people, it is ignorance and the saloon that are the great stumbling blocks in their road upward. Not many Ruthenians themselves have saloons, the Poles seeming to monopolise the business in their neighbourhoods. Yet it is the height of the ambition of some of them to be saloon keepers. It was said of one man that he died happy because he had come into possession of a saloon five or six months before his death.

So recent, comparatively, is the coming of these Ruthenians to America that many do not know English. And there have been but few children, as the immigration has consisted largely of young men and

young women, who are only now marrying and raising families.

Of freethinking there is little, but of socialism there are beginnings, which must necessarily be slow among a people who have been largely a farming people, unused to industrial conditions, and unused to thinking much for themselves. On the other hand, several independent churches and a growing Protestant movement give signs of an awakening among them. In Pittsburg is a Ruthenian Protestant pastor and editor who is becoming increasingly influential among his fellow countrymen in America. His opinion that the religious tolerance to which the Ruthenian Congress in New York gave acceptance was a great step in advance, makes clear the need of these people. They need a more tolerant, educated, co-operative activity on the part of their leaders than they have as yet enjoyed.

Socially inclined, fond of the theatre and dances, of which they have some strangely fascinating ones, it is their singing that is their chief social grace. "They sing when they are happy, they sing when they are sad, they sing when they are sober, they sing when they are drunk," remarked a prominent leader; while another summed the matter up in reply to a question as to whether they sang much, by saying, "O yes, the Ruthenians are very singable."

The possibilities that may be developed among these people are shown by the mere mention of the two names in literature by which they are best known—Shevchénko and Gogol. Both nineteenth century

Ukrainians, the former is better known to the Ruthenians themselves than to others as a national hero and poet; while Gogol's name is known the world over in the field of literature.

The persistent struggle of all the leading Ruthenians in the United States to educate themselves and their people makes the dawn of their future here full of hope. Intensely interested in their national and religious questions, yet gradually emerging from a life of limited horizon, they are one of the most interesting peoples in America. Mining our coal, working in our factories, washing dishes in our restaurants, shelling our oysters, they are doing our day labour from New York to the Mississippi.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SLOVAKS

WHO are the Slovaks? They are first cousins of the Bohemians, with a language that differs but little from Bohemian, and that little merely enough to have it seem perhaps only a less cultured Bohemian. Often referring to themselves as "Slavish," this term is not to be confused with the term Slavic or Slavonian, which is a general term applied to all the Slav family of nationalities.

Where do the Slovaks live? They live in what we may prosaically call "Slovakland," which borders Bohemia, Moravia and Galicia on the north, but is in Hungary, under the Magyar rule. They are another element in the motley population of Hungary, and, like so many of their countrymen, the Slovaks are peasant farmers.

Altogether of Slovaks the world has about 3,000,000, of whom a large number, in proportion to their total numbers, live in America. About 285,000 according to our 1910 census, they now estimate their own numbers here at from 500,000 to 700,000. Again it is Pennsylvania among the states and Chicago among the cities that boast first place "in counting Slovak noses." Cleveland, New York, Bridgeport,

Connecticut, and Pittsburg are other important centres, while New Jersey and Ohio are the states which join with New York and Illinois in having large numbers of these people. Like the Bohemians, they have taken up farm land to a noticeable degree in Virginia and in Texas, while Arkansas also has one important Slovak farming centre. But for the most part it is the mines and mills of Pennsylvania that have the largest Slovak strain in their population.

Although closely akin to the Czechs, there is one marked point of difference between the Slovaks and the Bohemians. That point is their literacy. Whereas the Bohemians are among the leaders in this respect, such is not the case with the Slovaks. The cause of this discrepancy is the different political fortunes of these two peoples. The Bohemians under Austrian dominion have at least schools and universities where they may learn Bohemian; but the Slovaks are a part of Hungary, whose ruling Magyars have not given them the liberty of education enjoyed by their more fortunate cousins. If they go to school they must go to a Magyar school and learn Magyar; Slovak priests are carefully watched lest they become too deeply interested in Slovak nationalist affairs; Slovak newspapers are forbidden, and the use of the Slovak language is officially curtailed in every possible way. As a consequence many Slovaks refuse to go to the Magyar schools, preferring no education at all to an enforced Magyar one; while those who do go to the Magyar schools not only find the language very difficult, but, having no enthusiasm, fail

to become very proficient in their studies. The results are evident in a large percentage of illiteracy among our Slovak immigrants. The only Slovak illustrated magazine in America or Europe is that now printed in New York City by a Bohemian, and has been in existence for but one year.

However, these people have many charming folk songs and dances, as they are largely a farming people; and in common with the Bohemians they are fond of beautiful embroideries, quaintly coloured dresses, and other simple but delightful expressions of a truly artistic nature.

Again, the Slovaks add one more to the list of immigrant nationalities that have run aground on the shoals of the liquor traffic here. It seems to be in their very blood to drink, so that the older generation of Slovaks has enjoyed a rather unenviable reputation in this respect in past years. Taking whiskey for breakfast and feeding it to babies not yet able to walk are facts which have been a hindrance to their progress in America—and a blot on our American methods of hospitality.

Since most of the Slovaks have sought America in the hope of finding freedom and making money, they come here to stay "for better or for worse." One well-educated Slovak feels that America really saved the Slovak people from virtual extinction about fifteen years ago. So low were the available wages, so great their debts, and so low their general economic conditions in Hungary, that if it had not been possible for them to come here and earn enough money to send

back to their stricken fellows, he thinks they could no longer have survived as a nationality.

So far in their American history there has not been very much that is unique to record about the movements of thought among the Slovak people. The benefit organisations, the papers and the church seem to have provided the only means of leadership—and that more or less of a "standpat" variety. The oldest paper is *Slovak v Amerike* of New York, with a circulation of some 18,000. In its policy it aims to Americanise its readers and point out to them the advantages and blessings of life in America. To its editor the needs of the Slovak people seem no different from the needs of any other people here—just "air, education, money and good homes," as he put it.

It is this paper which has been a leading exponent of the Slovak nationalist movement. In fact so much so that its circulation is forbidden in Hungary. The Slovak's hope lies, not in an independent Slovak nation, but in a union with their northern cousins and neighbours—the Bohemians. The contemplated Bohemia of the Czech patriots includes the Slovakland; the union of the two peoples being possible because of their close blood relationship, and being advantageous for them both in its increase of their numbers and their territory. As the present superiority of the Bohemians to the Slovaks in educational development would probably result in the Czechs having the upper hand in the proposed union, the enthusiasm for this national freedom is not so great among Slovaks as among Bohemians.

In religious faith the Slovaks are not as united as the Poles or Ruthenians. First in point of numbers come the Roman Catholic adherents, followed by the Greek Catholics, the Lutherans and the Calvinists. But they are a very religious people in the point of church attendance. As a Slovak minister said, "Every Slovak is a church member." This is in striking contrast to the religious condition of their Bohemian cousins. It made significant the remark of an officer of one of their Catholic societies—"There are no freethinkers among the Slovaks because they are not an educated people." Thus it is that their priests still maintain a strong hold over the people, while even their Protestantism is a matter of form rather than of conviction. Here and there one finds individuals who are freethinkers, or at least opposed to the usual Slovak religious affiliations. Yet even these individuals either remain churchgoers outwardly, or at least are not organised in their opposition to the church.

The great organisations among the Slovaks are the Sokols and the benevolent societies. The Sokols are often jointly Bohemian and Slovak, but the fraternal organisations, which are large and influential, are for Slovaks alone. The largest of these is the First Catholic Slovak Union with a membership of about 60,000. In Middletown, Pennsylvania, not far from Harrisburg, several miles out from the railway station one comes upon a large 300 acre farm. Near the road is a big, well lighted, two-story brick building, housing not only the office of this benefit society, but also the office and printing establishment of the Union's paper, with a

circulation of 40,000. A quarter of a mile further back from the road are several large farm buildings, white and clean, with the word "Jednota" (or "Union") painted in large letters on the roof of the great barn. Still farther back is a recently erected $100,000 orphanage, which the produce of the farm makes practically self-supporting. Spotlessly clean, with delightfully light, airy dormitories, class rooms, chapel and hallways, this building now houses seventy-two Slovak orphans, though it has a capacity of one hundred and fifty. Most of these children come from the Pennsylvania mining towns where accidents have deprived them of parental care. Here, taught and cared for by five American trained Slovak "sisters," they can lead a clean, wholesome life. Here they learn the Slovak language and catechism. The remainder of their lessons are in English. And this is but an example of what one of these great fraternal organisations is doing and can do for its people.

The purpose of this society, every member of which must be a Roman Catholic, is to educate the Slovak people. For this purpose use is made of their newspaper. Every officer of the Union must be an American citizen and every delegate at the annual meetings of the society must be an American citizen, while individual members are all urged to become such. The society has in mind, if possible, the erection at some future time of a school and college for Slovak young men. The officials of this organisation are men who have been in America many years, who have worked their way up from lower positions, and now, speaking

English quite well, are in these posts of prominence through their ability and perseverance.

There are several other large societies, such as the Pennsylvania Slovak Roman and Greek Catholic Union, with about 20,000 members (both men and women); the Calvinist Union; and the National Slovak Society. Of a somewhat different nature is the Slovak League, which combines the offices of a benefit society with the promulgation of a national propaganda. The hope of this league is set on a "United States of Bohemia," in which Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Slovakland may be joined after the war in an independent, autonomous national existence. This league takes the place among the Slovaks filled among the Poles and Bohemians by their National Alliances.

One interesting recent development of this National Slovak Society is its group of Young Folks' Circles, with some 5,000 members between the ages of six and sixteen. The object of this branch of their work, which includes a benefit arrangement, is to educate the young Slovak children in the Slovak language, and to instil in them pride in their own history, language, songs, customs and particularly in their parents. Not knowing Slovak themselves, but knowing English, the children often feel themselves better than their parents. As a consequence, they forego parental authority and become careless in their living. A book has already been printed outlining programmes for meetings of these circles under the guidance of some of the wiser older people; soon a paper is to be edited in Slovak, and later in Slovak and English, for these

young people, to educate them and give them good moral ideals.

In a large Pennsylvania mining centre is an interesting type of Slovak leader. His career of prominence began with his running a hotel and saloon in Freeland, Pennsylvania. From this position of local community importance he has now risen to a place of larger prominence. At present his position of influence has won him the office of interpreter in the city courts; he is an officer of one of the largest Slovak Catholic Unions, and the editor of its newspaper; at the same time he manages a printing establishment, which is busy night and day with Slovak, Polish and Russian printing. In addition to these things he has had time to help in the formation of a debating society among the young Slovaks, which does its work half in Slovak, half in English.

Such a case of leadership can often be duplicated in immigrant communities. Thus it is interesting to see how this case has been a growth from mere local Slovak leadership to a combination of national Slovak influence and both American and Slovak local prominence.

What can be done for the Slovaks by Americans? What do they need? "To be left alone," replied the officer of one of their organisations. To be left alone to sift the good from the bad in our American life, to develop their own character and resources, and to make their own way and place in our American life. Priests and editors and organisation officers are their leaders; drink and ignorance their burdens. Hard

work, love of beauty, of music, and of physical prowess they have to contribute to us. A stirring of national interest, and a growing restlessness under the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches, show how the winds of thought are blowing among them; and the enrolment of some 50,000 Slovak women in their various organisations shows a progressive spirit among this tax- and ignorance-burdened, submerged nationality of Hungary.

CHAPTER IX

THE SLOVENES

THE Slovenes are another of the subject peoples of the Austrian government, living largely in Styria and Carniola. It is from the word Carniola that they seem to have derived their American nickname of "Greiners."

As usual with the Slavs, the mines and mills and big cities have gobbled up the Slovenes in America. There are probably something like 200,000 of them here—a very large proportion of the 1,500,000 Slovenes that constitute their total contribution to the world's population. Although Pennsylvania claims the largest number of them, followed by Ohio and Illinois, there are many thousands of them scattered even in Colorado, California, and Washington. Devoted almost entirely to farming in Austria, there are but few farmers among them here.

Cleveland is their largest city centre, with between 15,000 and 20,000 settled mostly along St. Clair Street. Chicago, Joliet, and Calumet, Michigan, have the other most important "Greiner" colonies.

Of a hardy, healthy stock, the speed of American life in mine and mill uses up the vitality of the Slovenians and makes them old at fifty. Accustomed to

drinking, there seems to be no movement among them toward prohibition, though there is apparently less drinking than ten years ago.

The situation among the Slovenes in America is quite parallel to the situation found among the other Slavic peoples. At present there have developed among them very few leaders of a well educated, progressive type. It appears that not many of the Slovenes have gone on beyond a parochial and public school education, a fact which has been unfortunate for their own development and progress.

There has been an incipient nationalist movement among them—the Jugo-Slavic League, of which mention was made in speaking of the Croatians. But the small size of the Slovenian national population, the fact that they must join in with others like the Croatians in order to make a movement for political autonomy large enough to be effective, and the lack of sufficiently able leaders of the movement with definite plans for carrying on the propaganda, have held it back. Its importance is not of the magnitude that the nationalist movements have assumed among Poles, Bohemians and Ruthenians.

Of "insurance" societies there are the usual numerous variety, many of them local. The largest membership claimed by any of them seems to be 10,000 or 12,000, this number being claimed by both the Catholic organisation and the independent, anti-Catholic society.

The newspapers are of two varieties—Catholic and anti-Catholic. The latter are either Socialist or free-

thinking, and often more destructive than constructive. Much of the energy of these papers is consumed in combating one another by attempts to gain advertisers, and by articles derogatory of each other. Thus on St. Clair Street in Cleveland, almost directly across the street, are a liberal anti-clerical paper and a Roman Catholic paper. The latter was started only within the last year or so, its main objective to overcome the influence of the older liberal paper and get Roman Catholic advertisers back into the fold again.

Of Socialists there are perhaps 2,000, of free-thinkers some 4,000, while the rest of the Slovenians are supposedly Roman Catholic. On religious lines they have been more unified than any other Slavic nationality. The statement of the Slovenian priest that "there is not one Protestant among the Slovenes" is nearly true. The only Protestant mission building among the Slovenes in the world is a little Baptist one in Cleveland, where this church has less than 100 adherents. There is but one Protestant worker among them in the old country, and he is a Bohemian; while neither of the two Protestants working with our Slovenian immigrants is a Slovenian, one being a Bohemian, and the other a Croatian. The Slovenians have been Roman Catholic to the core, but now many claim that 50 per cent. of them in the United States go to no church whatever. The same revolt against the Church of Rome seems to be on foot among them as among the other Slavic peoples.

Still it seems that the leaders among the Slovenians are the priests, though this may not long remain the

case. 1,300 children now attend one of the great Slovenian parochial schools in Cleveland, while a much less number attend the public schools of the same vicinity. Yet those who are most interested in Americanising and educating their people are the ones most opposed to the church. The priests oppose the public schools, claiming that the children who go to them become freethinkers, while if they attend parochial schools they not only remain religious but learn the Slovenian language in addition.

Among all the peoples of our melting-pot population the Slovenians are the only ones, besides the Japanese, among whom the chief present interest seems to be Americanisation. One prominent jeweller answered the question "What would you like to do for your Slovenian people if you could do anything for them that you wanted?" by saying, "Make them all American citizens." To show that he was practising what he preached, he was during that very week of his remark going to be witness for five of his countrymen taking out their "second papers." His view corresponded with that of the nearby editor who said that the first policy of his paper was to Americanise his people; the second, to keep up their interest in their national affairs through the Jugo-Slavic League. To show his interest in Americanisation, he prepared a pamphlet on American civics and history in both English and Slovenian; and to show the response of the people to his efforts, during the past year 2,500 copies of this manual of American citizenship were bought by Slovenians.

The most startling answer to the question as to what he would like most to do for the Slovenian people was made by a prominent doctor, who replied, "Make them all Protestants." Basing his reasons for such an answer on the belief that it would bring his people into contact with American people more than is now the case, that it would assist them, and make them more broad-minded, his remark at least showed that the religious "status quo" of the Slovenian people is no longer unquestioned.

These are the "Greiners"—large of family, strong of body, without superior education. The number who continue even with high school work is surprisingly small. Slow moving, hitherto unorganised in any large way, they are beginning to wake up and stir about intellectually. Give them a few more years and they will report progress.

PART THREE

IMMIGRANT LEADERSHIP AMONG THE NON-SLAVIC EUROPEAN NATIONALITIES

CHAPTER X

THE GREEKS

WITH the Greeks we all feel a sort of schoolroom acquaintance. Every one knows where Greece is, who some of its famous historical characters are, and that it has been often in the limelight of history, both poetic and prosaic. Of course we assume that the Greeks in America come from Greece itself; but it is to be noted that in reality nearly one-half of them come from Asia Minor, under Turkish rule, and from the islands of the Ægean Sea.

Along with most of our other newcomers from southern and eastern Europe, they have largely emigrated in the last twenty years. They now number anywhere from 225,000 to 350,000. Of this number New York State has the largest share, closely followed by Massachusetts, though Illinois and Pennsylvania, as usual, are well up in the statistical record of Greek immigrants. An interesting feature of our Greek immigration is its comparatively large numbers in the coast states of California and Washington, with even Missouri, New Hampshire and Utah claiming noticeable groups.

New York and Chicago, with about 30,000 apiece, are the largest centres. Yet next to the very notice-

able South Halsted Street colony in Chicago, their largest compact colony in the country is probably that in Lowell, Massachusetts, where about 10,000 are gathered within a radius of three or four blocks. Manchester, in New Hampshire, and San Francisco are other large centres that would well repay a visit.

It is a familiar fact that the great majority of the Greeks are engaged in either the fruit, candy or shoe shining business. There seems to be no city too small to provide room for one such enterprising descendant of Achilles, and in many large cities these three forms of business are practically monopolised by them. We associate the Greeks with these activities as universally as we associate the Irish with the police force. In addition, one finds many Greeks scattered over the country as railway labourers; in many places they are in the industries; in Massachusetts, California and elsewhere they have many small farms of the truck garden variety. Boston and San Francisco are the spots where they have gone into the fishing trade—as has an important colony of them at Tarpon Springs in Florida.

One peculiar fact is the pretty general disfavour in which the Greeks are held as labourers. The opinion of one manufacturer in West Virginia, that "the Greeks are a bad lot as workmen," was echoed by an employer of labour in the Gary steel mills, who said he didn't think so much of the Greeks as of some of the other peoples; and by a Chicago manufacturer, who preferred almost any labour to that of the Greeks. It is true that there are some exceptions to this gen-

eral attitude, and that in Lowell, Massachusetts, Manchester, New Hampshire, and McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, there are many Greeks employed in mills and factories. But their tendency to have the "wanderlust," their disposition to complain, often their dishonesty, and their lack of the persevering, hard-working qualities of the Slav have made them less desirable than most other Europeans as a labouring class.

Their "immigrant" nature is far more characteristic of them than of almost any other people except the Italians. From of old they have been a race of adventurers, who constantly sought new lands, and Ulysses claims to be the patron saint of many a son of Athens here to-day. One bootblack in Pasadena, California, has been in the country only ten years, but during that time he has lived in Chicago, Denver, Ogden, Utah, and Los Angeles. Another Greek in a printing office in Chicago had been for several months in Providence, Rhode Island, as well as for several months in Chicago, though he had been in the country only a year altogether. As a proprietor of a small candy store in Seattle, who had been in Chicago two years before going West, expressed it in a picturesque way in reply to the question, "Why did you come out here to the Pacific Coast?" "Oh, I don't know—nobody knows—Greek people just like a fish swimming around here to-day, and to-morrow he's at New York."

For two reasons there seem to be few leaders among the whole Greek population here. In the first place, the Greeks are a democratic, liberty-loving people.

To such an extent have they carried this trait that they are in many ways extreme individualists. The old proverb that, "Where there are two Greeks there are three opinions," is so true that organisation and leadership among them are difficult of attainment. The way in which the largest Greek papers in the country—published daily in New York City—continually oppose one another, instead of co-operating for the good of their people, is but an instance of this unfortunate extreme of the love of liberty.

A second reason is the fact that Greece has an independent national existence, which makes unnecessary the forming of great national alliances such as we have found among the Bohemians and other submerged nationalities. There is not a continual summons to give of time, and thought, and money to secure the freedom of their nation from political bondage. They have no large national organisations of any kind at all commensurate in size or influence with the Greek population of America.

There are a great many organisations among them, but they are usually small local affairs. Some are for social purposes, some for athletics, some have been "phalanxes" to train men in the use of arms that they might fight for Greece in her times of trouble; some are clubs of people from a certain village or district in Greece.

The most important of these organisations, and the one approaching the nearest to a country-wide influence, is the Pan Hellenic Union. Once boasting of a membership of some 50,000, its numbers have fallen

to 10,000, largely due to the emigration of Greeks to fight for their flag during the Balkan Wars.

On a cold winter's day walk with me along Forty-sixth Street in New York City, and enter a room on the first floor of an old home now occupied by several families. There, sitting before a gas fire, reading his paper, we will find a short, dark man behind whose glasses gleam kindly eyes. His white coat suggests the medical aid which a glance through the door into the neatly furnished laboratory shows he is ready to give. Stay there for an hour and enjoy the conversation, for this is the president of the Pan Hellenic Union. Though his English is imperfect, due to his short residence of but six years in America, his interest is keen, and his ability proved when we learn that he took his doctor's examination in Cincinnati and passed it with a grade of 81 per cent. after only a few months in America.

Under his leadership the Union, which has the inevitable insurance inducement, is trying to increase the contact between the Greeks and the best in American life; members are urged to become citizens; lectures are given by Americans; and in New York a reading room has recently been opened, where, amid intertwined Greek and American flags, and under pictures of Abraham Lincoln, King Constantine, and Venizelos, one finds both Greek and American books and papers. Seated at its tables scattered around the room are four or five young Greeks, reading or enjoying the tea, Turkish coffee, and Greek cakes that one can purchase there.

Through branches in many parts of the country this Union endeavours to form a community of interest among American Greeks. Though its history is full of ups and downs and internal disruptions, and its present condition is not yet first class, it still remains the most influential organisation among the Greeks here to-day.

One of the young fellows seen at the reading room of the Pan Hellenic Union had been here just six months, during which time, while the bus-boy at nearby hotels, he was trying to add English to the five other tongues which he could speak. Such a discovery leads one to wonder at the number of well educated Greeks here unknown to us. Though previous to 1900 most of our Greek immigration was of a more ignorant type, since that time many educated men have come to our shores. That there are many men shining shoes and selling candy here that would not do such work in Greece itself for even $5,000 is more true to the fact than we realise. One of the waiters at a large Philadelphia hotel for the past ten years is a graduate of a university in Greece. The present secretary to one of the Greek priests in New York City was formerly the principal of a grammar school in his home land. When he came to America he was glad to secure a position as a dish-washer at the Yale Club in New York City for a whole year until he could learn English and secure a position better suited to his ability. An ex-court judge from Crete was recently found in Chicago seeking a job of some kind; while another who began

life here as a waiter is now giving some courses as an instructor at Harvard University. It would not surprise you then to go into a pool room in Seattle kept by a Greek, have him present to you a well-bound volume on "The Greeks in America," printed in Athens, in Greek, in order to acquaint Greeks more truly with America, and find that he himself was the author of the book.

Now climb to the second floor of an office building in Lowell, on a winter evening, and join a group of patients waiting to see the good Greek doctor, whose patience seemed as unlimited as his patients were innumerable. And then steal a few minutes from those waiting outside to ask this big, dark haired, kind hearted, well educated man about his work for his fellow countrymen. He is the president of the Greek "Community" for the year.

"What are the needs of the Greeks in this country?" you ask him. "First, to learn English; second, to learn American history and ways; third, to economise so that they can pay off their debt brought from the old country, and then get ahead here," he replies, and gradually you discover that through his position as "Community" president, through his work, and through lectures to his people he is constantly trying to bring these three things to pass among the Greeks.

What is this "Community"? The "Community" is probably the most unique institution among our Greek Americans. Wherever there is a large enough group of some hundreds of Greeks, an annually

elected community organisation is effected, with president, treasurer and other officers. Then this organisation manages the affairs of the church and the school for that year, paying the salary of the teachers and of the priest. In this way the financial affairs of the Greek Orthodox Church are managed by the people instead of by the priests, to a greater degree than is the case with the Roman Catholic Church. There is an additional effort sometimes made by the "Community" to look after the needs of the poor. Its function is to look after the welfare of the whole Greek colony, though its activities centre around the church.

In some of the larger colonies like that in New York, where there are two Greek churches, there are two "Communities"; in Chicago there are three; while the Greeks of Scranton and Wilkes Barre, though these cities are twenty miles apart, have one "Community" between them, the priest dividing his time between the two cities.

The Greek schools are in a way parochial schools. They are recognised by the municipal school authorities and are supposed to give the equivalent of a public school education, with the addition of instruction in the Greek language. The school in Lowell was first started in 1915. It had one hundred and fifty pupils, with work taking the children through the fourth grade. The teachers were three in number—the principal, a young Greek from Constantinople, his wife, and an American public school teacher. This, with the assistance of two Greeks acting alternately as janitor and sergeant-at-arms, with a stick to

keep order, comprised the working force of teachers. Each class had an hour a day of reading and spelling in English, with some other extra English work during the week. In addition to the Greek language and history they had two hours a week of religious instruction, the principal being qualified in this respect as a graduate of a theological school in Constantinople. Most of the children had been born in Greece, which is to be expected when we realise that it is only since the Balkan War that Greek women have come to America to any great extent. As the $1 per month paid by each family that has a child at the school is not sufficient to pay all the running expenses, this sum is supplemented by church collections. The Greeks have such schools in Chicago and New York, though of course not in smaller centres.

That the church and the priests still retain a form of leadership is true in certain communities—perhaps in Lowell and New York more than in Chicago. One reason for this may be that those who come from Greece, as most of the Chicago Greeks do, where there has been government support of the church, are less apt to support their church in a free country than are the Greeks from Asia Minor, as are most of those in New York, who have been accustomed to supporting their own church.

That thousands of the Greeks are not regular church adherents is true. But the fact that to them the church is a national institution, and that it is unpatriotic to leave it, is shown by the small success met with by any other form of religious expression among the

Greeks. The president of one "Community" said to me: "I am educated. I have no time or need for a priest, but it is good for the old women and people from ignorant mountainous regions; I can speak to the Almighty direct from my own room." Yet he goes to the church—it seems a part of his national duty to do so.

One can realise the far-reaching influence of the church over the people not only by seeing such a building as their beautiful $40,000 structure in Lowell, and by joining in the crowded worship in one of their New York City churches, but most impressively by seeing the great celebration of Good Friday night, such as is held in Chicago at the West Side Greek church.

From 7 to 8:30 P. M. a steady stream of men, women and children files into the church and up to the small canopied litter to kiss the little eikon of the Christ within its representation of the "Holy Sepulchre." Quickly the sign of the cross is made, now and then one leaves some flowers as an offering, and then each squeezes into the tightly packed crowd that fills the church. Meanwhile the choir of men's voices goes through the service ordered for the day. Then, every one carrying a lighted candle, the crowd surges out of the church, led by the choir; behind them comes a small boy swinging a censer, as he precedes the priest, clad in all his vestments; and the priest in turn marches just in front of the men who carry the "Holy Sepulchre," borne aloft on the beautifully decorated litter. Behind, carrying candles, with red lights glowing on all sides, follow the hundreds of worship-

pers as the procession journeys for nearly a mile through the streets, stopping traffic on Halsted Street, and winding back past Hull House to the church again. In the window of every Greek store and home glows the light of innumerable candles, so that for blocks one can see these twinkling lights in nearly every building. As one suddenly looks up at a second floor window and sees the faces of a man and his wife pressed to the window pane, showing white in the light of their worshipping candles, and watches them give the sign of the crucifix as the "Holy Sepulchre" passes by in the midst of the great procession, he feels the subtle power of the Greek Church over its people. Then to see the frenzy with which the people surge about the canopied litter when it is again within the church, and reach eagerly for one of the flowers of its decorations as they are torn away and taken home by those fortunate enough to get them, is enough to impress the onlooker deeply with the fact that religion still has a place in the hearts of the Greeks.

The leadership exercised by the priests depends largely on their progressiveness. Since it is the young Greeks who are so largely deserting their church, except for their annual or semi-annual attendance at some important church ceremony, the old priests who cannot speak English and who do not make an effort to enter American life leave but a slight impress on the community. But priests such as one who has been here eleven years and has taught himself English and become a citizen; who has a pleasant American home, with shelves full of high class books in English; who

has clubs for the young men and for the girls in his church,—these men are influential. It is not surprising to have such a priest remark that the church ought to be the centre of the social, domestic, and religious life of the community.

In this way, in a few established Greek communities, the priests are leaders. But so scattered are the majority of our Greek people, and so few the number of priests to reach them, that they have but small influence over the mass of our Greek immigrant population. Yet Protestantism has so far made but slight headway among them. There are but two or three Protestant evangelists among them, and they have been strongly opposed by all the priests, regardless of any moral benefit that may have come to the people from their efforts.

Finally we look for leadership to the Greek press, only to turn away disappointed. Of the many papers which they print few have more than a selfish interest to further in their work. The two leading papers are those published daily in New York, with a circulation of some 30,000 each. The most recently established of these, the *Herald,* is the most hopeful sign in the world of Greek paperdom. It has daily a column devoted to furthering the interests of the Greek immigrants, by urging a union among Greek waiters and other progressive measures. Its purpose is to educate the Greek mind and raise its ideals; its keynote is "progress." "I am going to make a revolution with this newspaper, a revolution of ideas, of the spirit," said its editor, who is a priest recently

come to America. Having shown his patriotism by joining the Greek army in both its recent wars, he has gone into the newspaper business here, feeling that it is better to reach 200,000 people through its columns than to reach only 1,000 by preaching.

One Chicago editor, formerly the head of a normal school in Greece, has been waging a campaign through his paper against "fake" bankers and the bootblack padrones. *Atlantis,* the oldest Greek daily, has assisted in educating the immigrants here through printing many books on American history and government, and through Greek-English lexicons. But the constant wrangling and personal animosity among papers and editors have vitiated much of their effective leadership.

That the Greeks are great readers may be easily seen by dropping in at one of their numerous coffee houses. These are the centre of the social life of the Greek men. Here they come to sit at small tables, drink their Turkish coffee, talk with their friends, read their papers and play cards. The sociability of these centres is marred by the fact that the air in the rooms is usually smoke filled and bad, while gambling, the chief vice of the Greeks, is frequent. But one cannot fail to be impressed with the opportunity Greek papers have, when he sees how universally they seem to be read. No sooner had we found an unoccupied corner in a second floor coffee house in New York City on a winter evening in 1915 than a small boy came in selling a Greek illustrated magazine—a sight which would hardly be duplicated in

an American resort of a similar kind. And yet the papers apparently have failed in all except a few instances to do more than spend their time in political and personal quarrels.

The coffee houses often give one the impression that the Greeks do not work at all, for one can usually find men sitting around in them at any time of day or night. They are crowded in the evenings. But on the other hand the excessive hours which many of them work in their stores prove the assertion that they learn to work in America—something that most of them did not know how to do in Greece.

Those who have come to America from Greece itself have come largely for economic reasons, while those from Turkey have come more largely to find freedom. That money is their quest here is amply proved by the bootblack business. "Bosses" hire, feed and sleep Greek boys at the expense of the health and wealth of the boys, and have such control of them that the boys have been in many cases in practical bondage. Some of the papers have made efforts to end this abuse by exposing the inadequate living quarters given the boys, their long hours of service and poor wages, and an attempt has recently been made in Chicago to form a union among the boys. Not much addicted to drinking and having an unusually good record in regard to drunkenness, except in a few places, the ability of the Greeks to lie is a serious handicap. It prevents them from winning the respect of the American people, who are accustomed to doing business on a one standard basis of honesty.

"There are 13,000 or 14,000 Greeks in San Francisco, but for business purposes I say there are 18,000," said the editor of a large Pacific Coast Greek paper. And so he prints the larger number in the columns of his paper to attract advertisers—an incident rather typical of this trait in the Greeks. Even the figure of 13,000 is an exaggeration. However truly based on their traditional, and therefore to them correct, form of doing business, such unreliability of statement is unfortunate for their standing in America.

That they are democratic and liberty loving is a trait that should make them valuable citizens; while their regard for education and the fact that most of their leaders are educated men is an important and excellent feature of their American life. It is these people among whom the editors, priests and "Community" officials are leaders, if the Greeks may be said to have any leaders at all in America.

CHAPTER XI

THE HUNGARIANS

THOUGH there are people of many nationalities that come from Hungary, and hence are entitled to be called Hungarians, the use of that term in this chapter will be confined simply to the real Hungarians —the Magyars. They are the ruling race in the government of Hungary, though their 8,000,000 are less than a half of the total population of Hungary. As the descendants of Asiatic ancestors who came to Europe in the early centuries, they are a unique element in Europe's population, with no blood kinship to any except perhaps the Finns in the far north. Of all the European languages the Magyar is perhaps the hardest for an English speaking person to learn, even though it uses the Latin alphabet. Unlike German, French, and Italian, it seems to have nothing in common with English.

The Magyar element in our cosmopolitan population is quite a large one—probably between 400,000 and 500,000. It is confined very largely to the eastern portion of the continent, with very few Magyars in any state west of the Mississippi or south of the Ohio. New York ranks first in point of numbers, while Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey and Connecti-

cut are the other Magyar states of importance. New York apparently has the largest city Magyar population, though Cleveland is not far behind with her 40,000. Bridgeport, Connecticut, has a very compact colony of 13,000, while Chicago, Youngstown and Toledo, Ohio, Pittsburg and Johnstown in Pennsylvania are other important centres. New York, Cleveland, and Bridgeport offer the best opportunity of seeing and understanding the Magyar people in America.

Probably 90 per cent. of the Magyar immigrants were engaged in farm labour in their home land, whereas most of them here are in the mines or the mills. There are no farming communities of Magyars of nearly the size or importance that the Bohemian, Polish and Slovak farming settlements have attained in the United States. One reason for this lies, probably, in the fact that the Magyars have not come so largely with the intention of staying here as have the people who were without political independence—such as the Jews, the Bohemians, and the Slovaks. Since the primary motive of our Magyar immigration has been economic, those planning to return to Europe find it much easier to earn money quickly in some industrial centre than on a farm. It is only those who intend to remain in this country who buy farms, and go to the expense of undertaking a business where profits are slow, though perhaps sure.

It seems that more Magyars will return to Europe after the War than any of the other races here. Since they have political independence, opportunities will appear to them more available there. Curiosity to see

the effects of the War on their home lands, together with the need felt by many of them to look after their own personal or family affairs, will take them back to Hungary. The fact that not many Hungarians own land here, except in older colonies such as that of Bridgeport, where there seems to be an established community; and the fact that a smaller proportion of Hungarians than of almost any nationality are American citizens lend colour to such an assertion. A leading editor stated that only 15 per cent. of the Magyars in America are land owners, and only 15 per cent. citizens.

Among Hungarians here the men of most commanding influence are apt to be saloon keepers and officers of their benevolent societies. A typical local leader of the Magyars can be found in a Connecticut manufacturing centre. At present he is known as a self-made man, with a fortune of about $40,000. Coming to America in 1889, he spent four years in Pennsylvania. After many years in Connecticut he has now gained a prominent place among his people, who have sent him to the city council as an alderman. He owns a saloon, which has the old country style, with chairs and tables more in use than the bar—and is at the same time a staunch supporter of the church, to which he gives generously. Yet he cannot speak English fluently, being a better listener in English than he is a speaker.

One of the great elements in the hold of the saloon on the Magyars has been the large halls which many of the saloons have in connection with their bars. Thus

one finds that the leader among the Hungarians in a New Jersey city is one of two brothers who own a corner saloon. Although the barroom is large and attractive, the main point of interest the proprietor is delighted to show you. Opening off the bar is a large, well lighted room, with a stage at one end. About the walls are hung the red, white and green Hungarian flags, along with the Stars and Stripes, while in various corners are the emblems of benevolent lodges, their flags, their pictures, their paraphernalia. For this hall is their meeting place, the centre of the social life among the Magyars of the city. Here before and after and during meetings of the lodges, or during social gatherings, liquor is so handy that it is difficult to avoid. In this way the saloon keepers maintain an important position among the Magyars.

In the first place, the inn keepers of Hungary are held in better repute in their communities than are saloon keepers here. Consequently the Magyars are more inclined to respect a saloon keeper than are most Americans.

Secondly, there are no large gymnastic organisations and but few national ones among the Magyars which have halls or buildings of their own. Hence any such hall is bound to be a place of importance among the people.

Thirdly, the benevolent societies are about the only organisations on a large scale among the Hungarians. They are consequently an important element in the community life. Where they meet, and where their

leading men are, is sure to be a central point in the Hungarian life of the city.

Realising these facts, the saloon keepers make the most of them, often offer their halls rent free to the lodges for meetings, and keep a controlling hand on affairs. The Hungarians drink more here than in Hungary, where they use wine, while here beer is so cheap that it and other more intoxicating drinks supply their demand more than does wine. It is often the saloon keepers who first befriend the immigrant, loan him money, and find him employment. Suffice it to say that they become and in many localities remain the leaders.

Among the societies none has a startlingly large membership. The "Verhovay" is the most important, with probably 12,000 members. There are several others with a membership of over 5,000. One has a large building and headquarters in Bridgeport, while the Rákoczy society has two buildings there—an old and a new—in neither of which is there a permanent bar, though there is room for a temporary bar whenever it is needed. The Hungarian Sick-Benefit Societies Confederation has 336 lodges, with about 10,000 members—and during nine months of 1915 dispensed $112,000 in death benefits alone. These societies are of many varieties of membership—some are only for Roman Catholics, some only for Greek Catholics, some only for Protestants, some include all varieties of religious experience. Most interesting is the "Verhovay," which excludes all Jews. Named after Ver-

hovay, the great anti-Semite leader of 1870, it is only natural that it should exclude Jews.

This is somewhat more noteworthy among the Magyars than it would be among the Russians, where one would expect such a thing. But the Jews have had better treatment in Hungary than in almost any other country. Practically all forms of religion have been permitted to flourish there—and the government has financially assisted them all, even the Jews. The latter own much land; control much of the wealth of the country; and it was recently reported that there were seventeen Jewish members of the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies. A great majority of the so-called Hungarian restaurants in our American cities are managed by Hungarian Jews. Indeed, both the owner and manager of the daily Hungarian paper which boasts of having the largest circulation of any Hungarian paper in the country are Jews. They are accepted with more equality by the Magyars than by almost any other people.

The power which the press exercises over the Magyars here is due to their respect for the printed word. As one prominent Hungarian expressed it, "When a thing is printed, it is like Holy Writ to a Hungarian. He says, 'It is printed—you can read it.'" A leading New York Hungarian, who has climbed the ladder of success from a $6 per week job on his arrival in America to the editorship of a great daily, repeated the same opinion. He feels that no movement can have success among the Hungarians unless it is backed

by one of the two great dailies, for the papers are "more powerful than the Bible."

The two largest dailies have a circulation of about 40,000 and 35,000 respectively, one being published in New York and one in Cleveland. There are other papers, including a recently published illustrated magazine, but the paper field among the Hungarians seems to be less crowded than is the case with many other nationalities. And yet independent in judgment and so "stiff necked" (as it were) are the Magyars that the editors and papers do not sway the people as they might otherwise do.

The fact that one of the two leading papers is called *Szabadság* ("Liberty") emphasises the Magyar spirit. At least for themselves they are set on obtaining and retaining liberty. It is natural, therefore, that Kossuth should be their great hero and his picture be noticeable in all their public gatherings. Every year a celebration is held in commemoration of March 15, 1848, when under the leadership of Kossuth a declaration of Magyar independence was proclaimed, including freedom of the press. Thus in Cleveland every year a large number of Hungarians gather about the statue of Kossuth, which stands in a city park, and while speeches are made in both English and Magyar, and American and Hungarian airs are sung, belief in liberty and democracy is heartily voiced.

In one or two places socialism seems to have some hold on the people. Although this is not a very general factor in the situation, it is appealing to many of the younger generation, and Rákoczy, one of the ben-

HUNGARIAN CELEBRATION OF MARCH 15, 1848, KOSSUTH'S STATUE, CLEVELAND

efit societies, has a socialistic trend. Unfortunately, much of the socialism among the Hungarians is of a very materialistic kind.

As to religious affiliation, about 60 per cent. of the Hungarians are Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic, with about 40 per cent. Protestant—mostly Lutheran, Reformed and Baptist, with their relative strength about in the order named. Because of the religious tolerance enjoyed in Hungary there has not been the bitter opposition to state churches that there often is under other governments. Protestantism is far stronger among them than among any of the other southern or central European peoples.

The most unusual factor in the situation in the United States, where their churches hold about the same numerical relation as in Hungary, is the struggle which there has been between the Reformed Church of Hungary and the Reformed and Presbyterian churches of America. Though very similar in their forms of church government, since 1904 there has been lack of harmony among these three. When the Hungarians came here the American Reformed and Presbyterian churches found among them many Magyars of the Calvinistic faith who had belonged to the Reformed Church of Hungary. Efforts were immediately put forth to care for these people, churches were established, and pastors sent to take charge of the work. But, unfortunately, some men whose education had not been complete were put in charge of such missions; the result was great dissatisfaction among the people, and among those Hungarian born Protestant

pastors who, having had a thorough educational training, felt personally aggrieved to find men of such inferior parts put on the same plane with them. On this account, and because they felt that their advice was not given as much consideration in the conduct of the work among the Magyars as it ought to have, some of these men became dissatisfied. They sought the help of the Reformed Church of Hungary and formed the Eastern Classis in New York City in 1904 as a missionary enterprise of that church. There is now in addition a Western Classis with headquarters in Pittsburg. Altogether the two Classes report about eighty-five congregations, though only some thirty-five church buildings.

The objection made to the work thus done by the Reformed Church of Hungary is this: that it receives money from the Hungarian government; indirectly, to be sure, through the Synod, which has charge of all the affairs of this church in Hungary and elsewhere—but yet truly, as the Hungarian government supports all its churches to a degree. It is claimed that the efforts of this church here are more political than spiritual—that it endeavours to discourage the acquisition of American citizenship—and in every possible way tries to keep up the Hungarian language, customs and allegiance at the expense of all efforts to Americanise the Magyars. However matters at present may have changed for the better, the fact that a large part of the support of this church came from Hungary, that a few of its pastors have been men of known immoral character, and that it has attempted

in several places to play politics in getting church property—all these factors have made an unfortunate impression. Of course, no attempt to Magyarise the Hungarians here could succeed with the younger generation born and educated in America. Such a movement would only be temporarily successful during the lifetime of the first generation. But the difficulty of the Magyars in learning our language, their lack of citizenship and land ownership have been a field in which such propaganda might flourish. At present the trouble between the American and the Hungarian churches in the Eastern Classis seems to be largely one of personalities, while in the Western Classis there is a far better mutual understanding than has been the case heretofore.

As happens in so many instances among the immigrants, the splits in the ranks of the Hungarian Protestants are due often to suspicion and misunderstanding. The leading Protestant pastor of Cleveland pointed out that "the Hungarians are a very conservative people who hold on to their traditions for a long time," giving this as a reason for the presence here of the Reformed Church of Hungary. In other words, these Magyars have been unable to adapt themselves immediately to American ways of worship and evangelism.

Hard as it sometimes is to understand the Magyars, and harder still sometimes to sympathise with them—they have a fascination as you see them sitting in their miners' houses smoking their long stemmed pipes—or pass one of them on the street

with his moustache bristling several inches on each side of his face, the ends twisted to the sharpness of a pin point—or as you sit in one of their churches and hear the almost deafening voices with which they slowly sing the hymns which are "lined out" to them. It is easy to believe, once one has heard them, that no group of people can make more noise than a Hungarian congregation intent on singing hymns. For they are a religious people.

From these Magyars, who have maintained their right to rule in Hungary by long years of struggle, we can learn love of liberty, devotion to our country, and justice to the Jews. Influenced now by their saloonkeepers, their societies, their editors, and in part by their religious leaders, they deserve to find something better in America than they have so far discovered.

CHAPTER XII

THE ITALIANS

GIANI trech nomber ov di cieh 3292 Sision 29," read the message written on a small scrap of paper handed to the head of a neighbourhood house by an Italian woman in April, 1916. It came from another Italian woman who, expecting the birth of a child, wished to summon her husband home. Puzzled by this strange brand of English, its recipient finally was able to work out its translation as follows, and send for the husband: "E. J. and E. (Elgin, Joliet, and Eastern R. R.) track-number of the check 3292, section 29." The message located the Italian father by his number as a section hand on the railroad.

The heart of every one must go out to such a plea for help, especially since it came from an Italian woman, for first and foremost among our immigrant population are the Italians. They seem to be omnipresent in every section of the country, in every kind of industry, and in every city or village, no matter what its size. When the 1910 official census was taken, their numbers in the United States already amounted to 2,151,422—more by several hundred thousand than the Poles and Jews, their nearest com-

petitors in the line of numbers. Since 1910 they have led the procession of immigrants in every year, maintaining their first place even during the past two years of slack immigration. Fortunate are those who can view this phenomenon as wisely as did a Chicago Italian who remarked: "The Italians are a favoured race—you will find them in every country of the world. Save them and you will save the world." Certainly it is true that of all the immigrant peoples they seem to be the most omnipresent, and the most available for any and every sort of a job.

Where best to see and understand them it is hard to say, though New York State stands first, as it has more than twice as many Italians as any other state in the union—745,669 in 1910. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Illinois follow, while California once again comes into prominence as an immigration centre with a reported Italian population of 117,243 in 1910.

Of the cities New York, with over 600,000, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Newark and San Francisco rank first. There are other places of importance in Italian circles, such as New Haven, Connecticut, where the more than 25,000 Italians comprise about one-sixth of the whole city population.

Everybody feels somewhat acquainted with the Italians. One expects most of the construction and section gangs on the railroads to be Italians; one expects all bootblacks, fruit and candy store men to be either Italians or Greeks; one expects the organ grinder with his monkey to be an Italian; one expects to find Itali-

ans in any large gang of labouring men. For it seems as though no task was too hard, and no climate too trying, to prevent the Italian from finding employment.

Perhaps the most noticeable fact about the Italian immigrant is his tendency to congregate in the large cities. True as this is of all the immigrant peoples, the custom prevailing in Italy of living in villages whose inhabitants go out from them to their farms in the surrounding country has probably made the Italians somewhat more gregarious than our other newcomers. This custom may also be a reason for the fact, more noteworthy among Italians than among others, that frequently people from the same Italian village will live on the same block in an American city, thus maintaining the old country ties of language and friendship longer than would otherwise be the case.

Of course the difference must be pointed out between the northern and the southern Italian. That the difference may be overcome and the southern Italian show the finer qualities of the better educated northern Italian does not alter the present fact that the southern Italians, from Calabria and Sicily, are more ignorant, less self-controlled, more superstitious and less able than the northern Italians. It is chiefly among the southern Italians that the Black Hand and other lawless outbreaks occur. So prevalent is this lawlessness in some places that one priest in New York City remarked that in his church they had formed, with good success, an "anti-weapon carrying club."

The mere fact that this was a necessity shows the character for which these southern Italians have unfortunately become famous.

Protestant Italian workers often find that the northern Italians will not attend a church whose pastor is a southern Italian or a Sicilian. This prevailing habit among the northern Italians of looking down on the southern Italians was given expression by a northern Italian woman of education who was working amongst southern Italians in some Pennsylvania mill towns. She said she found it very difficult to work for them because they were "so ignorant and unpleasant." There are Italians and Italians.

When one sets out to find leaders amongst the Italian immigrants he starts on a wild goose chase. Of all the immigrant peoples the Italians seem to be the most jealous of their leaders and consequently most leaderless. Man after man will assure you that there are no leaders amongst the Italians, that there are no large organisations or movements that have a vital hold on any large number of the Italian people, and that the Italians are the hardest people of any to organise. Whenever any man attains a position of trust or leadership among them he is immediately distrusted and deposed; every one seems to mistrust the motives of every other, and each one has an opinion of his own. The Italians are extreme individualists—anarchists in the philosophical sense of the word. Each one has ideas of his own and wishes them given due respect. One cannot sit long in an Italian coffee house without learning that.

On this account an Italian band formed about a year ago in a West Virginia town had to disband. Lack of mental harmony prevented the attainment of musical harmony. A garden club of Italian farmers near Seattle, Washington, with about forty members, nearly all of whom are Italians, has as its president not an Italian but a German. They could not elect an Italian to this position without jealousy, suspicion and trouble.

The most plausible reason for this unorganisability seems to be the political history of Italy. Previous to 1870 Italy had no central government; it was a group of independent cities and states. Consequently every independent form of government was seeking its own particular interests, suspicious of the motives and activities of every other group, and unable to do much co-operative work. The jealous independent feeling which this fostered has apparently become so much a part of the Italian nature that even the past forty odd years under a united Italian government has not yet been able to entirely overcome it.

On the other hand, small organisations and societies of all kinds flourish among the Italians. The lowest form of these is the "gang," usually of boys and young men. In the Italian quarters of some of the big cities such gangs terrorise whole neighbourhoods. Often addicted to the use of drugs, such as cocaine, these boys steal and rob, and if thwarted in their purposes do not even stop at murder. They are always able to escape because they so threaten the peace and lives of all who witness their deeds that no one dares wit-

ness against them before the police or other officials. New York City seems to be the centre of this sort of activity, while Chicago appears to have a monopoly of the so-called "Black Hand" outrages. Smaller places are less troubled by this sort of organised anarchy.

Of social organisations there are many—the Sons of Columbus, The Duke of Abruzzi Society, and others. Of these, the Sons of Italy is probably the largest. Although a rather recent organisation, it has a membership of perhaps 70,000, largely in the Eastern states. Gaining its foothold as a benevolent society, it purposes also to do all that it can for the moral uplift of the Italian people. The first definite action that it hopes to undertake is the erection of an orphan asylum to care for Italian children. While most of its members are labourers, its president is a New York City physician, and its late vice president was a Protestant minister in New Jersey.

The latter was an interesting type of Italian leader. A young man, he had come to this country at the age of twenty-three, and had been here ten or twelve years. He had married an Italian born in this country, the daughter of one of the interpreters at Ellis Island. His home had the cleanliness and neatness characteristic of so many homes of the progressive immigrants. Well acquainted with all the Italians in his city, at home with the English language, he was so desirous of helping the Italian people that he had added to his theological education a law course.

Qualified as a lawyer, he knew he could aid many of his countrymen in their difficulties.

He entered enthusiastically into the affairs of the "Sons of Italy," which he hoped would become a useful organisation. Yet he was free to admit that much of its activity consisted merely of words and discussions. So far it has developed no outstanding leader. The financial secretary of this society for the whole state of New Jersey said that he considered it all a joke. Although working for it, he laughed at it, claiming that it lacked leaders with executive ability.

It is such professional and business men as these officers who are more and more coming to the front as leaders among the Italian men. During the last ten years more men of education have come with the Italian immigrants than had been the case previously. Illiteracy has not been quite so prominent a feature of our recent Italian arrivals as of their predecessors. But rather unfortunately for the Italian people themselves, many of their number who have attained most financial and business success here have drifted away from their own people, and become more American than Italian. Well known among the American people, they are not really influential among the general run of their own people, who never have a chance to see them very intimately. Two such examples one may find in Connecticut—one probably the best known physician in the state, the other one of the wealthiest men of the state, with his large and thriving vaudeville business. As remarked in a previous chapter,

though their names are well known, these men lack the vital touch with their own people that gives them real influence as leaders.

Outside of New York City the Italian press seems to amount to little. Only there does one find several daily papers which are widely read; for in most other places one finds only weeklies and semi-weeklies. The editor of their great evening paper, which has a circulation of over 50,000, is a man of interest, a constructive leader. He has been many years in this country. Coming in his boyhood, he was helped in his early education by the Children's Aid Society, which does much for the Italians of New York City. He has now been for many years in the newspaper business. While also interested in politics, he is trying to use his paper chiefly to Americanise his people. In addition he tries to help the cause of the Italians in America by urging the American papers to be more careful in their methods of reporting news about the Italians in America. He has been somewhat successful in this campaign to get the American papers to be less sensational in the reporting of outbreaks of lawlessness among the Italians. He is thus trying to overcome the prejudice against the Italians which readers of the American papers so easily get by seeing Black Hand murders written up in such a sensational way in the American press.

The largest Italian New York morning paper has also endeavoured to do something positive. It has assumed a leading rôle in collecting Red Cross Funds for the Italian army and people. But, on the whole,

with the exception of one or two papers such as these, the Italian press of the country does not exert a large influence; the editorial policy is too changeable to be able to effect much permanent progress.

Even the church has lost its hold on the people. The startling assertion has been frequently made this past winter that 90 per cent. of the Italians are without the sway of the Roman Catholic Church. Though they may still go to the church to be baptised, married, and buried, this is their sole connection with it. Even this is a matter rather of social custom than of conviction. A leading Italian priest in New York admitted that at least 50 per cent. of the Italians were without the church, except for baptism, marriage and burial—and that although some 3,000 attended Sunday services in his church on the lower East Side, there were as many more in that neighbourhood who did not do so. Freedom from a state church and hatred of the money-making priests with whom they are familiar in Italy have been shown, when the Italians reached America, by their indifference to the church. The father of a very prominent Italian lawyer of New Jersey has been here forty-two years and never been in the church; another Italian notary public in West Virginia, though here fourteen years, never goes to the church—just two instances of religious indifference which might be multiplied by the hundreds and the thousands.

In a small mining town of Upper Michigan an Italian Roman Catholic church has been closed for

over a year because the priest could not get any of the Italians to come to church.

Only in the case of those with a strong personality do the priests any longer exercise a great influence over the Italian people. The result is a widespread indifference, which fortunately has not yet reached the stage of acute opposition to religion. Especially is this true among the young Italians, who by common consent seem to be the biggest problem among the Italian immigrants. Having given up as worthless all that was Italian, they have taken up with only what is least desirable in American life, becoming idle, shiftless and dangerous. In many places they are "religious libertines," as a prominent Paterson Italian put it.

The progress of this drift away from the Roman Catholic Church seems to have three stages—first, indifference; second, scepticism—at which time the socialist and anarchist propaganda becomes active; and third, open antagonism to religion of any kind, such as among the freethinkers of the Bohemians. The Italians are largely in the first stage, though the activity of the socialists is rapidly leading them into the second stage. Only a mighty, immediate effort by united Protestantism can keep the Italians from the rocks of so-called "free thought."

The anarchist propaganda has had outbreaks now and then, but it seems to be of small moment now, confined to a few individuals who nurse personal or political grievances. But the socialists seem to be making considerable headway, and are a factor in nearly

every large Italian colony from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The position of women among the Italians is so different from our conception of the place of women that it strikes one's attention. As an Italian sees it, the woman is inferior to the man, and under his dominion. Italian women will not think of going out on the street without a shawl over their heads, while often it is deemed improper for Italian girls and women to be seen on the streets without an escort. This attitude toward women remains for a long time after other more noticeable assimilations of American ideas have taken place. An Italian girl who had been brought up in the United States and was living in New Haven was not allowed by her husband to go out on the street even to buy food from the push-carts unless he went along with her. Whereas most girls who have been brought up in America would not have accepted this limitation, but would have rebelled, the incident shows how firmly rooted in the Italian mind is this feeling toward women. At a recent banquet given for some Italians in Providence, there were three hundred Italians present. Only six of these were women, and they the wives of English speaking, Americanised husbands. So that Italian women should have a vote has seemed incredible hitherto, until the casting of over 1,000 votes in favour of woman suffrage in an Italian district of New York City in the fall of 1915 showed that a change is rapidly coming over their minds.

Perhaps this attitude toward women is also respon-

sible for the strong, healthy home life which is fostered by the Italian people. Much is always made of family occasions, such as birthdays and weddings, while Sunday is the great day for the home, and for friendly family visiting. America has much to learn from her Italian citizens in the maintaining of family life.

What do the Italians here need most? "To be let alone, and to be given liberty and money (in better wages)," replied the Secretary of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in New York City. But more interesting still is the demand made by so many Italians and friends of the Italians that they be educated and taught some trades. One great tribulation of all who have been giving their lives to work among the Italian people is the almost universal custom of the Italian parents of removing their boys from school as soon as they reach the age of fourteen. At that age they have immediately been put to work. Poor wages and large families are the reasons given, but lack of understanding of the advantages of education also helps to keep up this custom. Recent efforts in one or two places to further the teaching of trades to the Italian boys have been successful in keeping them under educational influences for several years longer than has heretofore been usual among them.

To show what capacity for leadership in educational lines the Italian has, one need only go for a morning to Public School 45 in the Bronx, New York City, and watch the operation of the Gary system there. With a 90 per cent. Italian enrolment, one does

not wonder at the wisdom of having an Italian school principal. But one wonders less as he hears this hard working, clear thinking superintendent talking with an Italian mother and son over some difficulty in school discipline; sees the school work being done with order and precision; then listens for a few minutes while this progressive student of education explains how he tries to have the school meet the needs of the community. That the school is the centre and leader in that district one does not doubt as he hears of its successful efforts to break up a gang of Italian boys —of its gardens, where the children anew learn to respect the ability of their old fashioned, old country parents—and of other efforts to solve the community problems outside the regular classroom sphere. Here is a leader—an Italian leader of American education.

Again it is a pleasure to note the love of music among this portion of the new America. In nearly every Italian home one finds some sort of a musical instrument—and musical or operatic performances are usually sure of a good reception in an Italian colony. It makes only more apparent the truth of the saying that "of all the peoples only the Americans have forgotten how to sing."

Leaderless in any large way, yet deluged with petty leaders of organisations; easily influenced by any one with oratorical ability; prone to travel back and forth between Europe and America more than any other race of people—these are our Italian brethren. Without a strong press, indifferent to their ancestral re-

ligious forms, with a love of democracy and freedom growing within them, they are at present in a plastic state that demands a wise and firm touch to mould them into the ways of constructive growth.

CHAPTER XIII

THE JEWS

THE Jews—what thoughts and memories rush to the mind at the very mention of them! No race on earth has a history so full of excitement and adventure, so full of glory and unconquerable achievement, so full of utter despair and persecution, so full of high ideals and visions, so full of harsh realities and fearful facts. How full of interest then must be any consideration of their present conditions and ideas here in America, which is to them a religious and pecuniary land of opportunity, if not yet a land of entire social equality!

The Jews of the United States are a cosmopolitan mixture. They come from many a land and many a clime. The number in this country listed in the 1910 census under the designation "Yiddish and Hebrew" was 1,676,762—a number which has since then been materially increased and is now estimated by many as 2,500,000. Of this vast number it is not possible to ascertain with certainty which European nation has contributed the most; but probably the Jews from Russia are in the preponderance. This includes those from Russian Poland, while Austrian Poland probably takes second rank as a contributing centre to

American Jewry. Roumania, Hungary, Germany, England, Turkey and France are other large contributors. In the year ending June 30, 1915, of the 26,497 Hebrews who entered our country as immigrants, 14,496 came from Russia, as against 1,806 from Austria. The war conditions of course make these figures somewhat out of proportion, but they at least show the prominent place Russia occupies as a source of Hebrew immigration. From 1899 to 1910 of the 61,073 immigrants reaching America from Roumania 54,827 were Jews—an important feature of the Roumanian immigration.

As to the distribution of the Jews in the United States, New York State alone seems to be the home of one-half of them. About 1,000,000 live there, while Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts and New Jersey are the other states with the largest Jewish population. More than almost any other nationality, the Jews are to be found in the cities; in mines or steel mills or other like forms of industry their numbers are comparatively few. Their activities are far more of a commercial nature, or confined to such trades as garment making. In nearly every state the vast majority of them may be found in its two or three largest cities. Thus 140,000 of Pennsylvania's 171,000 Jews in 1910 were in Philadelphia and Pittsburg. New York City leads the world as a centre of Jewish population with a good 900,000. Philadelphia with over 125,000 comes next, followed by Chicago, Boston, Newark and Baltimore. Although there are good sized colonies in St. Louis and San

Francisco, the bulk of the Jewish immigration resides east of the Mississippi, and, except for Baltimore, north of the Mason and Dixon line.

Great efforts are being made by the Baron de Hirsch Fund to encourage Jewish agriculture. More than $2,000,000 has been loaned to 3,151 farmers by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society in its work of promoting agricultural colonisation in the United States. Although these efforts are meeting with marked success, the number of Jewish farmers in the United States remains comparatively small.

The first thing to be understood about the Jew is that there are Jews and Jews. At present there is a decided difference between the German and the Russian Jews. In general, the Russian Jews are those of the Ghettos—the ones most recently arrived and having the least fortunes; while the German Jews are the well-to-do, cultured class who have money and business interests. The Russian Jews one finds along Rivington Street in New York City, while the German Jews live uptown on the avenues. It is interesting to note that as the German Jews now look down on the Russian Jews from a material and social standpoint, so the Portuguese Jews formerly looked down on the German Jews here. Now these latter two have become one through the absorption of the Portuguese by the German Jews, and so it may be in the next half century that the Russian Jew will absorb the German Jew who now despises him.

The English Jew is usually a man of education and culture, more like the German Jew than the Russian

Jew. The Hungarian Jews also feel themselves above the Russian or Polish Jews in education and social standing. They look down on the Russian Jews as dirty and ignorant, and even in America do not mingle with them, but live rather in Hungarian-Jewish colonies. Again, the Hungarian and European Jews, in general, have a different code of dietary laws from the Eastern or Asiatic Jews, so that often a European Jew will not eat in the house of an Egyptian Jew because he does not think the latter has observed all the necessary sanitary, traditional and dietary laws, as the European dietary code is stricter than the Asiatic.

Yiddish is a language which is pretty generally understood by all Jews. It is a combination of the German, Slavic and Hebrew languages with Hebrew characters. Yet Jews from different countries are apt to give it a slightly different accent. Thus each kind of Jew is apt to wish a synagogue of his own. Cases like that on a corner of Fourteenth Street in Chicago, where side by side are a Roumanian and a Russian synagogue, are not infrequent. Of course, all Jews who have had any Jewish education at all can read Hebrew. In addition to Yiddish and Hebrew the Russian Jew speaks Russian, the Polish Jew Polish, the Roumanian Jew Roumanian, the Hungarian Jew Hungarian. Thus they are able to mingle and converse with the peoples of many lands.

The most surprising feature of Jewish immigration is the group of Levantine Jews, including Turkish, Greek and Spanish Jews, who since 1908 have come to America 30,000 strong. They come from the

islands of the Ægean Sea, from the Balkan States, and from the Ægean seacoast cities of both Europe and Asia. New York has their largest colony—about 15,000. But in Seattle, Washington, may be found a group of about 800 of these Spanish Jews. Coming largely from the island of Rhodes, they are descendants of the Jews driven out of Spain centuries ago. Even in such strange surroundings they have retained the use of the Spanish tongue, and have their own synagogue and ritual. All these Levantine Jews, some of whom speak Spanish, some Greek, some Turkish, can of course understand Hebrew. But the Yiddish, which is the medium of communication between all other European Jews, is an unknown tongue to them. Thus in language, customs and looks they are a distinct element in our Jewish population.

It is impossible to speak of the Jews without discussing somewhat the religious situation among them. As the name Jew has been more of a religious than of a national word, it has been commonly considered true that if a man was not a Jew in religion he was not a Jew at all. This has been, and still is, the deep-rooted feeling among the Jewish people, though new environment and larger opportunities for education are making many of the Hebrew people more tolerant of their brethren who do not profess to be Judaistic in their religion. Judaism is slowly becoming a racial rather than a religious fact.

But with all their wonderful religious ancestry and instinct, the amazing fact about the condition of American Jewry is its lack of religiousness. Out of the

1,676,762 Jews in the United States in 1910, the number of communicants in all Jewish synagogues was only 130,496. Even though only the head of a family is counted in Jewish congregations, the synagogues had a seating capacity of but 139,234. In the city of Philadelphia, with over 100,000 Jews in one large Jewish section, the synagogues have a seating capacity for less than one-fiftieth of that number. As one small store keeper in the Ghetto there explained his feelings, "I don't believe much in religion any more." It is not that they are giving up Judaism for any other form of religion—they are not accepting Christianity, or Mohammedanism or any other great religion—but it is the sad fact that they are losing all religion. The young people especially are the ones who, finding themselves unwilling to maintain the forms of Judaism, and having a sort of instinctive dread and hatred of other religions, are going without any religious expression or experience whatever. So startling is this fact that most of the Yiddish papers are continually crying out about it, seeking to turn the young Jews back to the ways of their forefathers; while the rabbis are all shouting "back to the synagogue." "Religion has no influence on Jewish life—it is a fact, not an influence," said one of Philadelphia's leading Jews.

Yet with all this apparent indifference there remains often a deep-rooted Judaistic consciousness that repels any attempts to win the allegiance of a Jew to any other form of religious worship.

The situation among the Jews who still attend the synagogues is of much interest. Roughly speaking,

these are of three types: the Orthodox, the conservative and the liberal, the word "reformed" being used to cover both the latter two types.

Some Saturday morning go down where the Russian Jews are living by their thousands in our big cities—and wander into one of their synagogues. There a strange sight will greet your eyes. On the ground floor of the large room you will see some thirty or forty bearded men with their hats on, usually the proverbial black derby; over their shoulders is thrown the traditional black and white striped robe or "tallit"; here and there a few boys and young men are scattered about, all wearing their hats. Some are sitting, some standing; and nearly all of them are busily engaged in reading over the Hebrew prayers and Scriptures. As each of these worshippers is a law unto himself, and as they do not all reach the synagogue at the same time, each is reading a different part of the day's service. Now one stands up as he comes to a particular prayer, then sits again; over in the corner another bearded patriarch sways back and forth to the rhythm of the muttered Scriptures; there another rises to worship his God. In the gallery above are a few old women with their shawls over their heads. In the centre of the front of the room are gathered four or five Israelites who are called up by the cantor to read aloud certain Scripture portions assigned for the day. The cantor himself is resplendent in a high silk hat. This is the Orthodox synagogue as it is and has been for centuries past. Here also on week days a few of these old sons of

Abraham meet to read and discuss the Talmud, and daily worship Jehovah—each a real Jew of the Jews.

But here are all the older generation, and scarcely any of the younger Jews—not a religiously hopeful outlook. It is over ten or fifteen such congregations that an Orthodox rabbi in a large city has ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For the rabbi is not so much a pastor as a bishop—he goes about to each congregation from time to time, and is an ecclesiastic rather than a shepherd of his sheep. As a leading Philadelphia rabbi in the south side Yiddish district explained, there is supposed to be at least one rabbi in every place where there are fifty families. This same rabbi at present has under his direction eighteen congregations meeting in various synagogues and other halls. His statement that there are 2,000,000 Orthodox Jews in America may be borne out if one counts as Orthodox all Jews who have not gone over to the liberal view or left Judaism altogether; but if we count as Orthodox only those who maintain all the forms and rites of Orthodox Jewry, facts scarcely prove the statement.

Among the Orthodox the rabbis have a position of prominence, largely due to their superior learning and acquaintance with the Law. This Philadelphia rabbi is typical of the more progressive type of the old Orthodox rabbis. An elderly man with white beard, rather unkempt in his appearance and his home, he was suspicious of all attempts to elicit any information. He is a power in his community, over which he rules with a firm hand; and only last winter he

was one of a group sent to Washington to seek the President's help for Jewish war sufferers. He speaks English and takes a prominent part in all that affects his people.

A second party consists of the conservative Jews. In their synagogues one finds features of both the old world and the new world Jewry. It is here that the men still sit through the service with their hats on, though the men and women sit together; that the singing and responses of choir and congregation are in the old Hebrew, but the address is given in English. This is an adaptation to new circumstances of the old form of worship.

Still a third religious wing among the Jews we may call the liberals. With them there is but little of the old forms retained, the service seeming more like a gathering to hear an address than like a traditional synagogue service. It is much like an ordinary Christian church service, with some singing, reading of the Scriptures, and a sermon, but with very little prayer. All but a little of the singing is in English. The liberal Jews have large buildings with many up-to-date improvements for social service; and their adherents are largely from the wealthy Hebrews, most of whom are the German Jews.

These three types include most of the Jews who retain the habit of worship at all. The vast mass of young Jews are drifting either into some new and socialistic habit of thinking—or are indifferent. Often hailed by extremely orthodox Christians as atheism, a keenly intelligent Jew, recently come to America,

and who claims that "for me culture is the great end, the goal," calls the attitude of young Jews "one of indifference, not atheism."

In so far as every Jew retains in his very blood a certain indefinable reverence for the traditional religion of his people, the rabbis must always maintain a certain amount of leadership among them. It is leadership not so much because it is blindly followed as because it is an accepted, traditional leadership, more of form than of fact. For the Jews are of all people the most individualistic. As a prominent rabbi in Seattle put the matter clearly—"The Jews have no leaders here; they will not stand for them, since as a people they have been used to thinking for themselves, every Jew reserving the right to have his own opinion and to present his own objections—a right, too, that is frequently used. They have never had a head of their church, and are not used to leadership as some other peoples are. Of course, those who think along the same lines may be organised together in some way, but that merely represents their own attitude, and not the general one." The truth of this statement only needs to be proved by an evening spent with a club of Jewish boys, who are wrangling for hours over points of parliamentary law, in order to be thoroughly accepted.

And yet with all the lack of Jewish leaders, and derision of leadership, it is just the men who are leading in organising those "who think along the same lines" that are their actual leaders. They are the

men whose thoughts and organisations throw most light on the situation among the American Jews.

When we have grasped the religious issue as a background—the issue that led a prominent Hebrew attorney in a large Eastern city to address his audience of some fifty young Jews one night during the winter of 1915-1916 as "my co-religionists"—we are ready to observe the two or three leading tendencies that most attract our attention.

While we have noted in preceding chapters the flaming up of the spirit of nationalism among many of our immigrant people, we are surprised to find it also breaking out heatedly among the Jews, in the garb of Zionism. In the Ghettos it has been for the past year one of the greatest interests among old and young. Of course its greatest hold is among the Russian Jews, who have either themselves felt the terror of persecution at the hands of Christians, or have known through their relatives of the hardships of life in "the Pale." To them the needs of the tens of millions of Jews still living under bondage in European countries are far more real than they are to the well-to-do, "uptown" German Jews. For the latter America seems a good enough place to live, so that they become often quite indifferent to the welfare of their brethren left in European bondage.

The leaders in the Zionist movement are leaders among the Jewish people to-day. With such prominent people as Mr. Justice Brandeis and Miss Mary Antin taking an active interest in Zionism, and with a great Zionist congress held in Philadelphia in the

summer of 1916, it is not strange that "national" affairs should have been of the most absorbing interest in Jewry. As with the Poles and Bohemians, the Jews feel that if they only had some territory which was their homeland they would be accorded better treatment throughout the world than they now receive as "wandering Jews—people without a country." As one delightful Jewish head resident of a social settlement has said: "The young people here are passionately interested in Zionism. They even discuss whether they ought not to retain the old Jewish custom of keeping their hats on in meeting in reverence to God, rather than to take their hats off in the house out of respect to the ladies."

There are clubs such as the "Young Judeans," which has a country-wide organisation, to interest the young Jews in the history, language and customs of their people, with the hope of perpetuating them. Every issue of the *Jewish Exponent* has in it such notices as these: "Zionist Notes," "Young Zionists," "Young Judea." The purpose of this paper, as given by its editor, is "to uphold the Jewish religion. In this sense it is nationalistic, but it is not Zionistic in the sense of desiring the Jews in America to go back to Palestine; only in expecting those from such places as Russia and Galicia to go back is it Zionistic."

The Philadelphia editor of one of the big Yiddish dailies said: "The Jews are very sensitive, and the reason is because they have no country. If an Italian is insulted he can go home to Italy, but not so the Jew. If you insult a man who has no money and

call him a beggar he is hurt. But if you call a man a beggar and he has money in the bank, he doesn't care. So is it with the Jew. (1) The ignorant, uncultured American who is outspoken against the Jews, (2) those who are jealous of the Jews in a business way, and (3) the college men who will not allow Jews in their fraternities, are the classes whose anti-Semitic discrimination the Jews do feel in America. It is because of this anti-Semitic discrimination that I am for Zionism and a land of our own."

There are two types of people who are opposed to Zionism, though not very actively so. As one leader put it, "A few rich Jews and one Socialist paper are against Zionism," or as another said, "The Socialists and the German Jews are opposed to Zionism."

Zionism is a rather inclusive term whose adherents are of three types. First, there are those who are religious Zionists, looking for a return by the promised Messiah. Daily prayer for the return of the Jews to Jerusalem and Palestine is a vital part of their life and hope. A second Zionist group is composed of "national" Zionists, who hope to create a national homeland by means of immigration to and colonisation of Palestine. A third element, smaller than the other two, but radical, hopes for the return to Palestine by means of a socialist community. Once largely a religious issue, Zionism is now a national question.

They who would lead the Jewish immigrants must take account of Zionism and the aroused spirit of nationalism. A rather noticeable fact since the out-

break of the Great War has been the uniting of all parties among the Jewish people in America in behalf of the needs of the war stricken Jews in all countries of Europe. Such a unity speaks much for the growth of the feeling of Jewish nationalism.

In the downtown Jewish sections, among the labouring people, there is a growing interest in the place of socialism. Although the reported membership of the Jewish organisation of the Socialist Party in this country in August, 1916, was only 3,000, socialist clubs, papers and ideas have direct influence over many more of the Jewish people than this would indicate. And the socialist leaders are real leaders.

One could not forget the impression of intense interest and electric atmosphere at a great Sunday night mass meeting during the winter of 1916, in the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia, where hundreds of Jews filled the room to hear the speeches in celebration of the victory of a Jewish girls garment workers' union in a strike the year previous. The most interesting man there was the chairman of the meeting. With keen humour he addressed the eager audience and introduced the various speakers, pressing home his remarks with a wit that frequently moved the hearers to laughter. This chairman was none other than the very busy editor of the socialist Yiddish paper, who alone must mould the opinion of far more than 3,000 Jews. He himself says that there is much socialism among the new Jewish immigrants, though not among the old who have money; and that the socialists and radicals represent the best element among the

Ghetto people. It is impossible to meet such a man and not realise that socialism is a growing power among these people.

One only needs to go to a Sunday morning Jewish Socialist Sunday School to get a glimpse of the leaven of socialism that is among all ages of Jewry. There over 100 children spend an hour in singing, and a second hour in classes, eagerly discussing questions as to the relation between the wages John Wanamaker pays his employés and his moral goodness; and other lively topics of economic and social interest. At this same school there was a young Jew who, as secretary of the Young People's Socialist League (Jewish branch), had come to get some pointers that would enable his organisation to start up similar schools for more Jewish children. To many of these young men the interests of socialism and their socialist "brothers" are the paramount interests of the day.

The Gentile world expects to find Jewish leaders in the financial world, and in that realm expects every Jew to be "a leader." But it is a mistake to think that finance is the sole interest of the Jew. Rather to our shame be it said that the "money" interest is apt to be more predominant in the lives of those Jews who have been here for a generation or so, and are to all intents and purposes American, than it is in the minds of many of our recently arrived Jewish citizens. It is refreshing to find among them a respected place of leadership for those who are men and women of education. Literature and book learn-

ing are still marks of high merit among them, as the use of public libraries in Jewish quarters suggests. The fondness of Jewish boys and girls for debating, and other exercises demanding brain work, remains undiminished and noteworthy. In our grade and high schools, and frequently in our colleges, the Jews are the leaders of their classes in scholarship.

Among other Jewish institutions for higher education may be mentioned Gratz and Dropsie colleges in Philadelphia. The object of Gratz College, which in 1915 had about forty students, is "to impart instruction in the Hebrew language, Jewish history, Jewish literature and the Jewish religion; and especially to afford training for teachers in Jewish schools." Dropsie is a "college for the promotion of and instruction in the Hebrew and cognate languages and their respective literatures and in the Rabbinical learning and literature."

The Jew is not content with the public provision of educational facilities, but has many additional kinds of schools. Prominent among these is the "Talmud Torah" type, of which there is usually one or more in each of the great city centres. Take one of those in a large city for instance. Housed in a $15,000 building owned by several Jewish organisations, it has 500 Jewish boys and girls at each of its daily two hour sessions from 4 to 6 and 6 to 8 P. M.—after public school hours. Here they are taught to read and write Hebrew and Yiddish, and to know Jewish history, the Old Testament, and the Talmud. Many of the teachers are themselves only high school stu-

dents. The principal of the school is a bearded Jew who has been in America since he was ten years of age, is a high school graduate, and now a middle aged man. He reports that 90 per cent. of the enrolment of the school is in attendance daily, that order is good, no truant law or officer is necessary, and that the worst punishment that can be inflicted on a child is to be sent home.

Here is a case of a Jew who has had only our best American elementary education, and yet is giving his time and work to the education of his own people. The sad fact, however, seems to be this—that most of the educated leaders leave the Ghetto and their own people for better parts of the city. Thus the burden of educated leadership is left with a few unselfish men who stay "to help" and do not leave "to get." The need of having the leadership of their own educated people is the greatest need of the immigrant Jews to-day, in the opinion of one of the prominent Ghetto citizens.

Beside the Talmud Torahs nearly every synagogue has its school, over which the rabbis are the bishops and young men the teachers. It is in schools like these and the Talmud Torahs that the knowledge of Hebrew and Yiddish is kept up, as it rightly should be.

In various Sunday Schools, both in English and in Hebrew, the Old Testament is taught. It was refreshing to hear the demand made by the pupils of a class in one such school for a longer lesson than the one assigned by the teacher for the following Sunday. The young Jews are eager for more knowl-

edge. Every week such organisations as the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations have lectures. One was given in early 1916 by a competent young Jewish lawyer on "The Jew in English Speaking Literature and History." In this address the speaker showed how the Jew, though maligned in English literature in such characters as Shylock and Fagan, had in the reality of English history been atoned for by men like Disraeli and Isaacs; how in the United States, while the Jew has fared better in literature, he has not fared so well in government until recently in such cases as that of Mr. Brandeis.

Thus, with all these opportunities for study assailing each Jewish boy and girl seven days in the week, and with even higher institutions like Gratz and Dropsie colleges in Philadelphia, it is fair to infer that no one can be an accredited leader among the Jewish immigrant population who is not an educated man.

One other feature of the life of the Hebrew people deserves mention. There is a marked social characteristic of their life. Among the German Jews it has developed into organisations such as the Young Men's Hebrew Association (Y. M. H. A.). This aims to be a community centre much after the fashion of the Y. M. C. A., except that it has very little religious flavour. From Friday evening till Saturday evening is the quiet time in its activities, the only event on its calendar during those hours being a Hebrew or Old Testament class. But on Sundays it is an open and much used gathering place.

The president of one of these associations in an

Eastern city is a young lawyer, a member of a Gentile law firm. He is a refined, kind hearted gentleman, a university graduate, and a member of one of the synagogues of the conservative type. Although the Association of which he is president deals almost entirely, in his city, with the uptown or German Jew, this young fellow goes every Sunday morning to the Ghetto, where he superintends one of the Hebrew Sunday Schools of some 200 children. And yet even he, with all his active interest in his people, is not thoroughly acquainted with the facts and conditions of the Russian Jews; nor was there a single Yiddish Ghetto paper to be found in this Young Men's Hebrew Association reading room. The interest of the German Jew in the Russian Jew is largely an academic, long-range interest, not the vital, cheek-by-jowl acquaintance that would be so beneficial to them both.

Among both classes of Jews there is a great deal of social life centring about the family, with many dances and other gatherings for fun and entertainment. Dangerously prevalent is this craze among the younger people of the Ghetto, who have so little of a stable nature to which they any longer cling.

Of organisations the Ghetto boasts great numbers. Chief among them are the benevolent societies known as B'rith Abraham and B'rith Sholom. The latter has a membership of 50,000, and 93 lodges in Philadelphia alone. It is of interest to note that it gives 5 per cent. to help disabled members; 10 per cent. to Jewish charity organisations, including

Zionist societies; and that its special committee to provide lectures on different subjects find that they now can get the people interested more easily in Zionist subjects than in any other. In fact, the B'rith Sholom had much to do with getting up the recent Zionist conference in Philadelphia in 1916.

The prominence of this society gives to some of the remarks of the men in its headquarters an added interest: "Most Jews are too busy making money—they have no time for interest in Jewish things. The first generation has no time for synagogues; they are learning American customs, getting established, and their children get no Jewish training. But when those children grow up they will give this Jewish training to the next generation, for they will be established and settled here. Ten years ago nobody had time for or interest in Jewish questions; now they have."

Nor are the Jews second to any people in caring for their own poor. In every city they attempt to care for all their people; their relief fund for the Jewish war sufferers is the largest of any war relief fund given in America; their care of the immigrants at Ellis Island is better than that given by any other race. The Hebrew Shelter and Immigrant Aid Society, with 52,000 members, has a highly developed catalogue system of caring for all newly arrived immigrants. It has kept busy during the slackened immigration of the last two years in conducting naturalisation classes, a free employment bureau, and in endeavours to find for Jews here their relatives who

have been swept out of the invaded districts of Poland and Galicia.

Thus with settlements, splendid hospitals and a vast number of organisations of all kinds, social life is an important feature of the Jewish life in America to-day.

The literacy of the Jewish people is the strength of the Yiddish press. The Yiddish papers are less in number but larger in circulation and hence more influential than the Polish or Italian papers. One or two of the larger dailies have an English page or department—a step in advance of most of the foreign language papers.

The editor of the Yiddish *World* is trying through it to educate and give American ideas to the Jews in the United States; and from them trying to get help for the Jews in Europe. His remark that the three biggest factors in Jewish life here to-day are Orthodox Judaism among the older Ghetto people, education among the young, and Zionism throws light on the situation.

The Philadelphia editor of the *Forward,* the largest Yiddish paper in the country, with a circulation of over 200,000, is trying to centre the energies of his readers on America and their needs here. Thus in various ways the editors find opportunity for constructive leadership through the Yiddish press.

What of Christianity and the Jews?

1. There are comparatively but a small number of

Jews who have become Christians on profession of faith.

2. Most of the attempts to convert the Jews to Christ have been of the dogmatic, severely orthodox type, which to the mind of the Jew, ever questioning, ever grasping for new truth, have been almost impossible of acceptance.

3. There is in the blood of the Hebrew people an ingrained distrust of all Christian propaganda, bred of the past centuries of persecution in European lands at the hands of the Christians and the church, and now almost a part of their being. It astonishes us who have been brought up with stories always telling of the beauty and holiness of Christ, to discover that even to-day small Jewish children are by some parents taught vile stories about Christ's birth—and that the name of "Crist" is hateful in their ears. He who becomes a Christian is no longer a Jew.

These last two facts account in large measure for the first one. For these reasons it has seemed so difficult to "convert" the Jews that the Christian church has almost given up in despair trying to do so.

The facts need to be faced and not evaded. The young Jews are leaving the faith of their fathers; their papers are continually crying out about the drifting away of the young; "the rabbis are all shouting 'back to the synagogue,'" said an officer of one of their big benefit organisations.

In 1914 there were 2,400 men in the New York "Tombs" prison. Of these 1,400 were Roman Catholics, of whom 800 were Italians; 600 were Hebrews;

and 400 were Protestants. According to one of the chaplains there the number of Hebrews is increasing. The Jews did not previously have so large a proportion of the prison population, but due to the great number of "gangsters" among them their record in this respect is getting worse.

But when the president of Dropsie College, one of the most prominent and respected Jews in America, in speaking about some Jew who had professed himself a Christian, let the word "apostate" slip from his mouth (though he immediately corrected himself), it showed how deep rooted is the feeling of dislike, distrust and even hatred of efforts to Christianise the Jew. This opinion was confirmed in talking with a learned rabbi. "Frankly, what do you think of Christian missions among the Jews?" he was asked. "To be frank, the Jews consider them an insult," was his reply. "Our religion is the oldest of all, and we feel insulted to have efforts made to convert us. You can never convert a Jew. Both the Orthodox and the Reformed parties are united in their opposition to Christian missions among the Jews." And then one reads in the annual report of the Hebrew Sunday Schools of Philadelphia for 1915, in speaking of Jewish Christian missions, this sentence: "The missions lure our children from their faith, and those who are active in this nefarious traffic find many ready to help them."

We turn to one of the Christian missions, where a kind-hearted but not overly wise worker tells how she answered a little Jewish girl, who asked whether it

was all right to be in a play which was being given at a nearby settlement house of high character. "No, that isn't the Jesus way to do." It has been such unfortunate opposition to clean and helpful forms of amusement, combined with the presentation of a cold, harsh gospel, that has made Christian missions a by-word among the Jews. Add to this some unfortunate cases of professedly converted Jews who have followed rather the god of profit than the God of their ancestral prophets, and one does not wonder at the slow progress of so called Christianity among them.

The presentation of Christianity has been often the attempt to win over a convert from one intolerant, narrow creed to another creed equally as intolerant and narrow. The result has not been blessed in bearing a very rich harvest for the Kingdom.

There is more of the spirit of Christ in a Hebrew Sunday School where only the Old Testament is taught, than in some of the Christian missions working to convert these same "unbelieving Jews." We must recognise that the God of the Jews is our God; that our Old Testament is theirs; that our Ten Commandments are theirs; that the Christ we have to give them is not something in place of what they have, but something in addition to it—a new spirit. Jewish missions need an advocate before the church to-day to arouse the Christian people to the drift of the Jews away from religion, and to arouse them to a new and larger presentation of the whole big Gospel of Jesus Christ in a new and larger way that

will appeal not only to the heart, but also to the mind and welfare of the Jewish people.

Of the three most prominent strains in our recent immigrant population—Italian, Polish and Jewish—it is only among the latter that an educated leadership has been demanded. Individualistic to an extreme, yet not without some able and prominent leaders of both local and national influence, the Jews of our American cities have not been well understood. With religious views in their very marrow, and born to enjoy social life, it is education, Zionism and socialism that are leading features in the life of the Jewish immigrants to-day. As their editors, business men and society officials take cognisance of these interests do they measure their strength of leadership.

Best treated in Hungary, and given more social equality by the Italians, with whom many of them are intermarrying here, than by other nationalities, the Jews look to America for a full measure of freedom from prejudice, inequality and persecution.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LETTS

FOR the past fifteen years the tide of immigration has contained an element that is little known in our country—the Letts. They are closely akin to the Lithuanians, their languages differing only as two dialects of the same tongue differ. They come from the provinces of Courland and Livonia in northwestern Russia on the Baltic Sea. The city of Riga, so often mentioned in the war despatches, is the chief city of that part of Russia from which the Letts come.

They claim prominence for two reasons—because of their great ability as farmers and because of their maritime skill. They control much of the merchant marine of Russia, and in the Russian navy it is frequently not the real Russians but the Letts who captain the vessels.

The greatest impetus to their immigration to this country seems to have been the revolutionary days of 1904 and 1905. It is difficult to ascertain their number and location in the United States, for in all the immigration statistics they are grouped with the Lithuanians. Estimates place their number in this country at from 20,000 to 50,000, scattered in small colonies. New England seems to be their chief

stronghold, with Boston, New Bedford and Worcester as important centres, while Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Baltimore and Chicago are other gathering places. In and near Chicago there are said to be about 4,000, but they are scattered and not centralised.

This seems to be one rather peculiar feature of their life here, that instead of flocking together they spread about, so that in many places it is hard to find more than a few families of Letts within the same block. Wisconsin and Pennsylvania have a few Lettish farming colonies, but their numbers are very small. For the most part the men seem to be engaged either in some shipping business or in common labour, while many of the women are engaged in domestic service, or as workers in restaurants. A number of those who were teachers in Russia, driven out in the troublous times of 1905 because of their modern ideas, are here working in our factories. Most of these Lettish people are young—both men and women.

So recent is their coming, so scattered are their numbers, that very little leadership has been developed among them here. They have their societies and churches, and a few papers, but no outstanding men among them.

The most interesting fact about them is their religious adherence. Coming from Russia with its powerful and omnipresent Orthodox Church, and closely connected by race and tongue with the Roman Catholic Lithuanians, yet the Letts are for the most part neither Orthodox nor Catholic. Of their total num-

ber of about 1,500,000 the larger portion are Lutheran, with the Baptists forming a growing percentage, while both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches have only a few adherents. The Lutheran element has been due to the presence of German barons who with their large estates have been of great influence in the two Lettish provinces of Russia.

In the United States the Baptists seem to be more active than the Lutherans among the Letts, many of whom remain socialistic or indifferent in their attitude. The number of Letts enrolled as members of the Socialist party in the United States is 1,800. This represents a far larger proportion of our whole Lettish immigration than membership in the Socialist party does among most of our immigrant peoples. Not such hard drinkers as the Lithuanians, better educated, fond of their folk songs, hard working, the Letts seem to be a helpful element in our newer immigration. It is an interesting fact that the immigration secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in Philadelphia is a Lett, and that the pastor of the Lettish Baptist church there is a graduate of one of our American theological seminaries.

CHAPTER XV

THE LITHUANIANS

WHETHER he lives in Abyssinia or Central Brazil or Mongolia; whether he is a Slav or an "Austrian"; whether he is a real human being or just a fiction of some sentimental writer about social conditions, is often about as far as our knowledge of a Lithuanian goes. Thus it is with some surprise and unexpected pleasure we find that the Great War has done this mote of good: that it has made us familiar with the habitat of the Lithuanians; for the Lithuanians come to America in large measure from the Russian provinces of Vilna, Kovna, Grodno, and Suwalki. These provinces border on East Prussia, where under the German government some hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians have also lived. Since the opening of the Great War the Germans have gained possession of practically all Lithuania, as in 1915 on their eastern war front they captured Grodno, Minsk, and Vilna—all Lithuanian cities, the latter being the ancient capital of Lithuania before it came under the rule of Russia.

The Lithuanians are not Slavs. Their blood connection with the Slavic races is so far back in history as to be scarcely an accountable relationship. Though

their fortunes have long been bound up with those of Poland in a political way, the language and customs of these two people are quite distinct.

The Lithuanian population of Russia numbers about 4,000,000, while the Lithuanian population of the United States is about 500,000. This is a large proportion of the entire Lithuanian nationality. Like the Slav peoples with whom they have been so closely associated in Europe, the Lithuanians in the United States are settled most extensively in Pennsylvania, Illinois and Massachusetts. Among the cities Chicago again takes first rank with an estimated Lithuanian population of 50,000. New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg and Scranton are other large Lithuanian centres. It is the mines of Pennsylvania and the industries of our great cities which employ the largest share of these blue eyed, fair-haired folk.

As is the case with most of the nationalities making up our immigrant population, the priests, the editors, and the officers of the "benefit" societies seem to be the most active and influential leaders. There are, in general, three parties among the Lithuanians—the national, the clerical, and the socialist—with a fourth small but radical group of freethinkers. Just now all parties are united in separate efforts to raise funds for war relief work in Lithuania. On the same Sunday the priest in the church will appeal for this aid, while the freethinker at his meeting will do his best to raise similar funds.

In addition to such relief work, the desire for the

freedom of Lithuania is playing a prominent part in the thoughts of her people here in America. After centuries of independent existence, in 1567 a union of Lithuania and Poland was formed through intermarriage in their ruling families. Since that time their fates have been linked together. Thus it was that Lithuania, by the partition of Poland, became a part of the German and Russian empires. In the autonomous Poland for which the Poles are agitating, they hope to include Lithuania. But to this the Lithuanians strenuously object. They demand Lithuanian autonomy. To further this cause all parties, except the Socialists who are internationalists, are raising funds in America. National loyalty and interest have been aroused, and the Lithuanians have added their voice to the chorus of Poles, Bohemians, Ruthenians, and south Slavonians who are crying out for independence, freedom, and the rights of small nationalities after the war. A monthly, *Plea for the Lithuanians,* began its appearance in the English language in February, 1916; and "Lithuania in Retrospect and Prospect" appeared toward the close of 1915 from the pen of Dr. Szlupas—signs of the strenuous efforts of the "national" leaders among the Lithuanians to arouse the American people as well as their own people.

To understand the Lithuanians in America one must know a few facts. "The Lithuanians, in the ill treatment and persecution they have suffered, are the lowest of the peoples in this country except the Armenians," said one of their prominent men. The rea-

son for the illiteracy and backwardness of these people here is due to the fact that not until 1905 were they allowed by the Russian government to print books or literature in the Lithuanian tongue. Previous to that date they were not allowed to have their own schools, but were forced to go either to the Russian schools or to go without education at all. As a consequence the latter was in many cases the alternative chosen. Since 1905 quite a number of our many Lithuanian immigrants have been men of better education, but for the most part our Lithuanian population is an ignorant peasant population.

As one leader in the Chicago colony suggested: "Lithuanian immigration is 45 years old, so that we are just beginning to get the first American born Lithuanian college graduates now. In the last few years there have been a good many such who have become lawyers and doctors." It is stated that within the last year there have been a considerable number of Lithuanian students at Valparaiso University in Indiana, this fact showing how, as the years go by, more and more advantage is taken of educational opportunities by these people.

Probably the most influential men among the Lithuanians are the Roman Catholic priests. Strange to say, the Roman Church is the church of nearly all the Lithuanians, although they live in Russia. They and the Letts are noteworthy exceptions to the general rule that the inhabitants of Russia are adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church. In Lithuania itself practically every one is an adherent of the Roman

Church. In the United States there are in addition only some Lutherans, two or three independent congregations, and a few other Protestant adherents. The ignorance of the people gives more than ordinary weight to the words of the priests. A Sunday morning at a service in a big Lithuanian Catholic church in the Pennsylvania mining district easily convinces one of this fact. Crowded to the doors, the clean shaven and neatly dressed men on the right, on the left the old women with their shawls and the young women with the latest style of American hat, the priest with his noticeable green silk gown holds easy sway over his congregation. In Baltimore a settlement doing work among the Lithuanians finds the priest a man to conjure with, because no children come to the settlement house when the priest speaks his word of disapproval. Such is the condition among most of these people.

But Catholicism no longer holds undivided sway over the Lithuanians. Miss Grace Abbott says that in Chicago there is a big movement of socialists and freethinkers away from the church. The socialists carry on an influential propaganda, with a daily newspaper edited in Chicago. And then there are the freethinkers. Though but slightly organised, they are a powerful force because of the personality of Dr. Szlupas, one of the foremost Lithuanians in this country. A large bodied man, a doctor by profession, a strong speaker, driven out of both Russia and Germany some twenty-five years ago because of his efforts in behalf of the freedom of the Lithuanian press, he

is the leader of the freethinkers among his people. Fiercely opposed to the Roman Church, unceasing in his literary efforts in behalf of his people, he is a prime leader in arousing enthusiasm here for a free Lithuania. With such an ardent spokesman opposition to the Roman Church has been sure to grow. Consequently the priests are no longer unchallenged as leaders of the people.

Unfortunately it is in general true that when a Lithuanian leaves the Roman Church he gives up all pretence of religion. As the editor of the Lithuanian I. W. W. paper in Baltimore said in reply to a statement that the Lithuanians didn't know about Protestantism: "They don't want to know. When a Lithuanian leaves the Roman Catholic Church he becomes an atheist. Religion is religion." Although these were the words of an extreme radical, they express the actual fact—that if a Lithuanian in America is not an adherent of the Roman Church he is usually away from touch with any kind of religion at all. And the number of such Lithuanians is large.

As evidence of this is the fact that the membership of the Lithuanian National Alliance is almost equal to that of the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Union—about 12,000. These are the two largest mutual benefit societies among these people. Yet the purpose of the Alliance is to be a national organisation, with a neutral attitude toward religious questions. It is the growth of such societies that tends to undermine the influence of the priests as leaders.

The higher education of the priests has been an-

other reason for their leadership, for as yet there are but few other men of education to take places of leadership. The president of the Lithuanian National Alliance, who now conducts a small wholesale and retail liquor store, was formerly a miner, and is not a man of great educational equipment. But his history, from the time when he was a trustee of the Catholic Church nearly up to the present, when he avows himself a freethinker, is but a sign of the times among the Lithuanians.

The association of which he is the head endeavours to assist young Lithuanian students who are seeking to gain a higher education in school and college. Thus it is giving expression to what seems to be the universal opinion—that the greatest need of the Lithuanian people is more education. Even the I. W. W. editor, with all his accent on the wage question, mentioned as the first need of his people "more culture." The "Society of Lithuanian Patriots," with yearly dues of sixty cents, is trying to fill this need by publishing books on history and other subjects for its several thousand members.

This search for knowledge opens wide the door of influence for the newspapers. Of these there are all kinds—daily and weekly, national, socialist, progressive and clerical. One editor, an official in the society of "Patriots," claimed that the papers had done much to further temperance among the people. If this is true, it is a valuable contribution. For, although the Lithuanians are still noted for their insatiable use of liquor, the last ten years has seen great

progress in overcoming this evil. Ten or a dozen total abstinence societies are visible expressions of this advance, while all hands agree that the situation, though still bad, is on the mend. One prominent saloonkeeper emphasised the fact that, whereas he used to sell great quantities of liquor for weddings and dances, he now sells comparatively little for such occasions. "The young people are not drinking much, for the young men chew gum and smoke, while the girls eat oranges and candy," he remarked.

The organisation, through their various societies, of 50,000 Lithuanian women in the United States, is another fact worth noticing. Also surprising, yet true, is the fact that the vice-president of their largest Catholic benefit society is a woman—an honour such as few of our immigrant peoples are accustomed to give to their women. These facts, coupled with the love of song and drama which is common to so many of the European peasant folk, give hope of a good basis for much future progress among the Lithuanians.

Thus we find the Lithuanians in a plastic condition with a new day dawning for them—a day of education, enlightenment and progress. There is a great opportunity among them for sane, progressive leadership. From now on they will not so easily follow any leader who is a good orator and "makes much noise," but will demand an intelligent, modern mind to go before them and lead the way.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ROUMANIANS

THE Roumanians—at the mention of the word one can think only of a small country in the Balkans, and of "Carmen Sylva," the late Roumanian queen whose ability as an authoress made her name so well known in America. But when we talk about the Roumanians in the United States we find that we are talking about people who have not come here from the Kingdom of Roumania. The Roumanians in America have come largely from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Although the *Immigration Journal* gives 135,065 as the number of Roumanians reaching this country as immigrants from 1899 to 1915, the Roumanians themselves claim a population of about 250,000 here—of whom probably less than 10 per cent. have come from the Kingdom of Roumania. The vast majority of them come from the Hungarian provinces of Banat, Transylvania and Bukowina, which the Kingdom of Roumania hopes to annex after the present War. It is noteworthy how small have been the number of immigrants who have come from the sovereign Balkan states of Serbia, Bulgaria and Roumania; most of those coming from the Kingdom of Roumania itself have been Jews, as there they have lived under great restriction.

If you want to run across any of these Roumanian people from Hungary, the most of them are to be found in the states of New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois. New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Youngstown, Ohio, and Gary, Indiana, are the centres of some of their largest settlements. There is no distinctive trade or industry into which they have gone in any considerable degree. They may be found in the mines of Pennsylvania, in the city factories, or scattered everywhere as common labourers.

These Roumanians are of Latin stock, their language being somewhat akin to French and Italian. Their history dates back to some of the early Roman colonies of Trajan. The vast majority of them in Hungary are farmers or peasants. Like all peasant people they have many charming folk songs, and are lovers of singing.

Their attitude toward the Magyars is worth noting. Although living under the Hungarian government, they have not become ardent supporters of the Magyars. As a Roumanian lawyer said: "One should be careful not to call a Roumanian a Magyar. The Magyars have oppressed them to such an extent that the Roumanians would rather be called anything else than that." One of their priests adds his testimony. "Do you hate the Magyars?" he was asked. Slapping his head and foot he replied: "From head to foot. The Roumanians like the Germans, are sorry for the French, but hate Austria-Hungary."

Until the winter of 1915-1916 but few of these peo-

ple had become American citizens. In Chicago there were only 152 citizens out of 6,000 Roumanians. But due to the War, which has determined many of them to remain permanently in America, and due to special efforts to teach English to the immigrants, an increased number have sought citizenship this past year.

There is very little that is conspicuous about the life of these Roumanian people in the United States. They are almost like sheep without a shepherd. Their education in Hungary was so limited that the percentage of illiteracy among them is high. One leading Roumanian estimates that there are only five or six educated leaders among the Roumanians in America, while one of their priests puts the number at no more than fifty.

In Cleveland is their only daily paper—*Romanul*—with an estimated circulation of 18,000. In New York City, Chicago and elsewhere a few other small weeklies and monthlies are published. The editor of this Cleveland paper is one of their most prominent men. A lawyer by training, speaking English well, he is one of the few educated leaders among them. To fulfil the purpose of his paper, which he says is "to make good American citizens" of his people, is a large task.

Their churches and benefit societies have but little influence over the people. There seem to be only two benefit societies among them that are of any size, one of these, the Roumanian American League, claiming 6,000 members. As yet these societies seem to be merely insurance organisations, which so far have

made no other attempts to meet the needs of their people.

The only leaders of much importance, besides one or two editors, are the priests. Yet there are only eleven Roumanian Orthodox churches for all these people—and many of these churches are small. The fact that the Roumanians are scattered in small numbers in so many places, and the fact that priests are so few in number, make the latter's place of leadership a small one. Consequently thousands of Roumanians are without any religious worship at all, and are fast becoming indifferent and antagonistic to religion. Yet this opposition has not taken definite form in any organisation, as it has among so many other peoples.

Although the majority of these Roumanians belong to the Roumanian branch of the Eastern Orthodox Church, there are some Greek Catholics—or Uniats—among them too. The only Protestant work done among these people is carried on by the Baptists, who have three Roumanian ministers at work. So far no big programme has been attempted by them, though the absence of much leadership of any kind among the Roumanians leaves open a great opportunity for a wise, educated leadership on the part of the Baptist denomination.

In a small Chicago suburb the Baptist work has been carried on by a young Roumanian who is at work as a gardener. Beside doing his daily work he finds time to hold meetings on Wednesday and Saturday evenings, Sunday mornings and evenings, and to have Sunday School on Sunday afternoons. All

this he does without any remuneration, simply that he may bring the "good news" of a vital religion to the hundred or more Roumanian people there. The energy and devotion of such people as this young Roumanian must be a great asset to our American life.

In many small colonies saloonkeepers are the leading men, as ignorance and drink are responsible for many of the difficulties encountered by the Roumanians in America. The small number of women among them and the still prevalent "stag" boarding house are opportunities for the liquor traffic to keep a strong hold on these people.

But that they are good material out of which to make Americans is shown by the story of a Roumanian shepherd out in Montana. Recently, within two or three years after coming to America, he translated into Roumanian all of Barnes' "History of America," doing this work day by day as he was at his job on a great sheep ranch.

Such are our Roumanian immigrants—unknown to most of us, uncared for, crowded into small boarding houses, leaderless—but full of ambition and desire to get ahead.

PART FOUR

IMMIGRANT LEADERSHIP AMONG THE ASIATIC RACES

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHINESE

WHEN one turns to California and the Pacific Coast, the presence there of noticeable numbers of Chinese, Japanese and other Oriental peoples immediately calls attention to an immigration situation somewhat different from that in the rest of the country. This difference, however, may be exaggerated. The main point about the problem remains the same with the Chinese and Japanese as with the European immigrants—it is fundamentally a problem of the treatment of a human being, whose colour and traditions may differ more radically from ours than do those of the European immigrants, but whose feelings and intellect and character come from the same human mould as do our own. The added complication in the Oriental immigration problem is the presence of that mountainous molehill of race prejudice—along with an ingrained politico-economic prejudice which is based more on a half century of unfortunate American selfishness than on simple facts. This feature of the problem, having its source in the individual American attitude toward our Asiatic immigrants rather than in the actual presence of the Orientals, adds a new and significant feature to the ques-

tion, and marks the distinction between our European and our Oriental immigration questions.

The Chinese immigration question is not now a question of restriction or admission. In many ways the Chinese immigration question is a closed question altogether. Whereas there were in 1880 and 1890 over 100,000 Chinese in the United States, the total number given by the 1910 census is but 71,531. In no year of the 19th century did more than 40,000 Chinese immigrants ever reach our shores. Their numbers, now roughly estimated at 60,000 by the Chinese themselves, are gradually diminishing.

At present, as always, the large majority of the Chinese are in California. In 1910 this state claimed 27,764, Oregon 6,468, New York 4,482, Washington 2,301, with Arizona, Montana, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts the only other states claiming more than 1,000 Chinese population.

Of the cities, San Francisco has at present by far the largest number, estimated at 8,000 or 10,000. Portland, Oregon, New York City, Oakland, Los Angeles and Chicago are the other large centres with the most distinct "Chinatown" districts.

Beside gathering in city centres, the Chinese have taken a great interest in farming. Outside Los Angeles are many Chinese truck farms, whence the owners go in to the great markets of the city to sell their produce. Recently the number of these farmers has been decreasing because of the dying off of the older generation, and the return to the larger opportunities in China of many of the younger, educated generation.

As railway construction men and labourers, as laundrymen, cooks and hotel porters, they have been and still are in great demand on the Pacific Coast; while in our American colleges and schools may be found over 1,000 Chinese students.

Though commonly known the country over by the hand laundries which in every corner of the continent they have established, it is not generally realised that at least 90 per cent. of the Chinese in the United States come from but one province in China. That province is Kwang-tung, better known to us by its chief city, Canton. Hence one easily sees the truth of the observation of a prominent young San Francisco Chinaman that: "The Chinese here do not really represent the whole Chinese people. The Chinese students in America do come from all over China, and they are thus more representative."

This fact will give a clue to the origin of the most famous of the Chinese organisations in the United States—the so-called "Six Companies." This organisation, thus named by the American people, is a federation of six (now seven) benevolent societies of people from six different districts near Canton. Each is a society to take care of the needs and troubles of the people of its own district. These societies federated together largely for the following purposes: to care for the needs of the Chinese people; to settle their disputes without taking them to an American court; to watch legislation affecting Chinese interests; and in general to look out for the interests of the

Chinese, and protect them from the attacks of the politicians and labour unions.

On Stockton Street in San Francisco stands a conspicuous building with unmistakable Chinese architectural features about it. While each of these societies has its own building, this is the common building or headquarters of the "Six Companies." If you will stand in its vestibule some evening, you can look through a large window and see the room where the "Six Companies" is at work. Looking like some Oriental shrine room with a large beautifully ornamented screen as a background, it is the spot where business is transacted. Here, opposite the entrance, sit the officers, while at right angles to the desk at which they sit are long benches occupied by the members.

Upstairs in this building is a hospital for the use of the Chinese people, and also a school room. Here every afternoon many of the Chinese children gather to spend two hours learning the Chinese language, lest failure to do so may cause them to drift too far away from the influence of their parents. Through such provisions as this the "Six Companies" endeavours to meet the needs of its people. With branches in several other cities, it is a very powerful organisation, so that whatever it says usually "goes" in Chinatown.

Beside the "Six Companies," there are other influential societies among the Chinese people. Every now and then we read in the papers of "Tong" wars in some large Chinese centre. The word "Tong" simply means "society"—and there are many Tongs

among the Chinese. Most of these started up as benefit societies on the order of American lodges like the "Elks" and "Masons." Some Tongs are Chinese trade unions. In their beginning the Tongs were worthy organisations with a helpful purpose, and even now they have buildings or rooms where their members may meet to read, play games and enjoy a central gathering place. Originally disputes between members of different Tongs were settled by the Tong organisations themselves. Now the Tongs are more war makers than peace makers. The custom has grown up of making an affront to a member an affront to his whole Tong—the interest of one member, the interest of his whole Tong. Thus with the advent of unscrupulous men into positions of power in these Tongs, great quarrels between Tongs have developed. These difficulties are now usually settled by acts of personal violence. The police in San Francisco and other large cities have seemed unable to stop this form of lawlessness by the "Highbinders," as these Tong members are frequently called.

The reality and terror of these Tong troubles were impressed upon me by the fact that when, in blissful ignorance, I asked a young Chinese Christian about these Tongs, while we were walking on the streets of San Francisco's Chinatown one evening, he whispered that he didn't dare speak about it on the streets for fear some Tong member would overhear him and later do him some physical injury. So I had to wait until we were safely inside one of the church buildings to continue the conversation. These Tongs and Tong

wars are unknown in China, being peculiar to the American Chinese life. Very seldom is the murderer in these Tong wars apprehended, for the silence of Tong loyalty and the eloquence of money in the hands of the police have usually proved insuperable obstacles in the path of justice.

Not all the Tongs are trouble makers, for though one mission worker expressed the opinion that "none of the Tongs are good," the worst offenders seem to be three or four of the dozen or more prominent Tongs. The "wars," which result in shootings and stabbings in dark corridors and even on the streets, usually occur during the winter when the numbers of the Chinese in the city are augmented by the return of those who spend the summers in the Alaska canning factories or on the California farms as labourers. Although many of the men at the head of the Tongs are polite, educated, well-dressed men, it is significant that none of the Christian Chinese will join these Tongs. Of late the Tongs have gained a large influence in the "Six Companies," so that its efforts to curb them have not as yet been successful.

There are still other societies of a benefit or mutual aid variety among the Chinese. Some of them are formed along family lines. Thus the Lee family association takes care of charity cases among all whose name is Lee, often sending the old men back to China when they are too old to work and have no desire except to get back to see their old home and their families before they die. "The Chinese never appeal to charity organisations for aid—I wish the labour

unions would take note of that fact," said the secretary of the "Six Companies."

The position of leadership occupied by the Chinese editors is unexpectedly prominent. While we are apt to think of the Chinese as ignorant and uneducated, it is well to know that in San Francisco they publish four daily papers, while there are many other weeklies and monthlies printed in Canada, Mexico and in various North and South American cities. The oldest of these dailies is a paper of which two Chinese Christians are the editors. During a seventeen years' history it has been the largest of any of the papers, with a circulation of about 6,000.

In a front second story room overlooking Chinatown, with the whir and clank of printing machinery coming from the press room in the rear, sits an elderly man at his desk. With his long and sparse grey beard, his yellow complexion and his quiet manner, he seems the picture of an Oriental gentleman. At one time a Chinese Christian minister, this man is now one of the editors of the *Chung Sai Yat Po,* the oldest and for long the most influential Chinese daily in the United States. To-day his son, educated in the United States, is back in China, holding an important position on one of her big railways; while his daughter is preparing to go back to the country of her fathers as a teacher. Yet this man, intelligent and educated, still wears a brace about his ankle, where he was kicked by a hoodlum seven years ago on a San Francisco ferryboat—a badge of American race prejudice.

Just now a new paper of nearly as great circulation is fast assuming a place of prominence, since it is more progressive than its older rival. This is the *Young China* daily paper which has been an ardent supporter of the Republic in China itself. Its editor is a young man, who, though having had only an American public school education, is an intelligent and prominent citizen of Chinatown. He has great hopes for the progress of the Chinese in San Francisco because of the probability that they will erelong have enough votes to be a power in their own neighbourhood. As only Chinese born in the United States can be citizens, for a long time there was no Chinese vote, so that politicians did what they wished with the Chinese, and the latter had no redress. But now there are nearly 500 Chinese votes in that San Francisco district, and they hope that before many years they will have enough votes to send a Chinese representative to the California legislature. Having been at some sessions of the state legislature in behalf of certain bills, this editor does not entertain a very high opinion of that body. He remarked that he thought he himself knew more than some of its members and could do the work as well as they.

Of the other two daily newspapers one is published by the conservatives, while the other is a Tong paper. That the papers—and consequently their editors—have a growing influence is shown by the recent rapid increase in the number of book stores in Chinatown. Ten years ago there were scarcely any; now they are to be found in nearly every block. While most of the

books are in Chinese, there are a number of Chinese-English books for those learning English.

That there is a national spirit among these people is evidenced by the numerous Chinese flags seen throughout the whole Chinese section of San Francisco. An interesting evidence of this racial or national feeling is seen in the relation of the Chinese and the Japanese. A few years ago there were a large number of small Japanese shops in Chinatown; then came some difficulties between the Chinese and Japanese governments which led the Chinese here to boycott the Japanese. No Chinaman was allowed to purchase anything in a Japanese store under penalty of a fine at the hands of the "Six Companies." Consequently there are now but one or two Japanese stores left in Chinatown, and these are not frequented by the Chinese.

This national feeling has its present outlet in the activities of the Chinese National Party. The spirit of the 19th and 20th centuries is abroad among the younger Chinese who constitute the moving spirits of this nationalist party, in contrast to the national parties among the European immigrants, which are formed of the older generation among them. Perhaps the most encouraging, impressive, and at the same time romantic event of a winter's experience among the immigrants was a visit to the headquarters of this Chinese National Party in San Francisco. Entering a brightly lighted room with a reading table in the middle, and with the walls decorated with pictures of different local groups of these young Chinese in various parts of California, we went up into a little

back gallery where we found three or four men hard at work over letters, files and books. There was nothing unusual about this, except to find so much work to be done that these men were still at their desks at nine o'clock in the evening, until I discovered who these men were. One was a kind-faced, middle-aged man. Formerly a high official in the first Chinese Parliament, he later refused to serve under Yuan Shi Kai, and is now in this country in charge of the work of this Chinese National Party. Beside him was a young Chinaman, introduced as Mr. Sun, who proved to be none other than the son of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, China's first President.

There in that little room on a San Francisco Chinatown street were two men who were in intimate touch with a movement that vitally affects a country of 400,000,000 people—and must therefore more and more be of consequence to us in America. Under the direction of such men the Chinese National Party has now about 10,000 members scattered all over this land. Included in this number are not only all the educated, young and Christian Chinese, but also many of the older laundryman type. The organisation here contributed largely in money and enthusiasm to the original revolution which first established the Chinese Republic. Early in 1916 they were again sending over money to finance the revolution which was gaining so much momentum before the death of Yuan Shi Kai. The main objective at that time was the overthrow of Yuan, whom they considered a traitor to his people because of his giving up the Republic. The Young

China Party edits not only a daily paper, but also a monthly magazine; sends out lecturers; helps to educate in this country young Chinese, some of them Government students to whom the Chinese Government had refused money because they were so openly in favour of the Republic; and sends money to China to finance the revolution. Here then were the leaders of the intelligent, constructive, energetic young Chinese. Here was the pilot house of a great new Republic. It is in some of these men that the hope of China's future lies. And they have been here in our very midst, changing the destiny of countless millions of people while we scarce noticed them. Quiet, unpretentious, hard working—they are leaders indeed.

Nowhere are the old and the new more strangely mixed than in Chinatown. While upstairs one finds a Republic growing apace, on the street below one passes women and children with their bright-coloured, comfortable, pajama-like old country clothes; goes through narrow, winding streets surrounded with unimaginably memorable smells from the grocery and fish stalls; climbs up winding stairs to a nearly deserted Joss house; then suddenly finds himself in the pagoda-like building of the Chinatown Telephone Exchange. Here six Chinese girls, dressed in Chinese costume, are hard at work answering calls both Chinese and American—a combination of ancient and modern that is hard to surpass. Their busiest time is from 10 to 11 P. M. (when the telephone calls in Chinatown come thick and fast), as at that time the Chinese often visit one another and take a hearty meal before going to bed.

So far as religion goes, many of the Chinese are "religionless." A few still remain idol worshippers, but since the great San Francisco fire the Joss houses have been to a large degree deserted. A few are staunch Confucianists to a greater degree than the others, for all Chinese will defend the ethics of Confucius and are to that degree Confucianists. Strange to say there is a small group of Socialists also. But many of the Chinese, particularly those living outside the great city centres on farms or as temporary field and canning factory workmen, are without any religious connection at all.

It is not until one goes into the mission churches that one finds much evidence of Christian American touch with the Chinese life. Having placed the infamous red light district at the very front door of San Francisco Chinatown, there was terrible need of some uplifting forces to counterbalance the evil the American community thus threw into the faces of the Chinese. This partly explains the fact that in proportion to its numbers San Francisco Chinatown has more Protestant Christian churches and missions than our European immigrant communities usually have. There are nine different denominational bodies conducting some sort of work, including the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army and the Roman Catholic Church, practically all of them providing in evening classes the only opportunities the adult Chinese have of learning English. These churches and their pastors are real leaders, yet the total number of professing Christians

is only about 1,000, out of a Chinatown population of 8,000 to 10,000.

One unique type of Christian work is that done by the Methodist and Presbyterian Girls' Homes. Here are kept orphan girls, Juvenile Court offenders, United States immigration prisoners, and girls rescued from the toils of slavery. For little 12 and 13 year old Chinese girls are brought over here, and kept in a position of slavery which is a combination of white slavery and physical servitude. With a price of usually not less than $3,000 per girl, their lives are full of misery, excitement and vice, in which the "Highbinders" play a large part. In the rescue and reformation of these girls a unique work is done.

This little known slavery, together with crowded housing conditions, and especially the vice of gambling, seem to be the worst features of the social life of the Chinese. And though these vices are perhaps more flagrant in San Francisco than elsewhere, at least gambling seems to be country wide in its attraction for the Chinese. The hold which it has on their attention can be seen even at Angel Island—the Ellis Island of San Francisco. Here you are always sure to find the Chinese men grouped around a table gambling with dominoes or some other game. Often the freshly arrived immigrants thus suffer at the hands of those who have been detained there awaiting investigation of their cases. Gambling seems to be the Chinese national sport.

Up at the top of Chinatown, which is on the side of one of San Francisco's hills, is a fine large school

building. This is the Oriental School, recently erected. Here all the Chinese children must go for their grade school education, since they are not allowed to go to the same schools with white American children until they are ready for high school. Although well housed, and with supposedly as high class teaching as given in any of the other city schools, the Chinese children are thus losing the best possible opportunity for mingling with the American children and growing together in mutual understanding. This school system is a monument to the past half century of race prejudice in California,—to the "'e's a furriner, 'eave 'arf a brick at 'im" spirit.

A glimpse at the history of our Chinese immigration is necessary to understand this. Beginning in 1848 with the news of the discovery of gold in California, by the end of 1851 it was estimated that 25,000 Chinese had come to California. During the thirty or more years of free immigration before the restriction act was passed in 1882 about 300,000 Chinese reached America. Although the Chinese were welcomed at first, the labour troubles that disturbed California's history for the next few decades were soon seized upon by white labourers as the cause for anti-Chinese politics. Feeling ran high, and the Chinese were for years subject to violent attacks by hoodlums, to legislative restriction and to injustice of all kinds. An anti-Chinese prejudice grew up at that time which became a part of the very atmosphere of the Pacific Coast.

It is true that the Chinese did work for lower wages

and live more cheaply than did the American labourers. In this respect Oriental labour and white labour were not equal competitors. But all efforts put forth to settle the questions in dispute were efforts against the Chinese, with practically nothing being planned as a remedy except to harass the Chinese or exclude them. Yet their labour was the labour which built the Central Pacific railroad—the transcontinental line which first gave California reliable transportation connections with the rest of the country. And it was the Chinese who did much of the manual and domestic labour which the native Americans disdained to do. In many other ways the "China boys" proved themselves valuable assets; but the vast difference between the Chinese and the early California settlers in dress, housing and manner of living made a mutual understanding difficult. The large number of Chinese in proportion to the small population of California was also a contributing feature to these troubles.

Since the first federal restriction act of 1882 many limitations have been imposed on Chinese immigration. But since the San Francisco fire of 1906 the feeling against the Chinese has greatly subsided; indeed it could not help doing so as soon as the number of Chinese in this country began decreasing. Yet however kindly may be the present feeling toward them, what are some of the conditions affecting our Chinese immigrants? Not allowed to join the labour unions, yet persecuted by the latter for underbidding in wages; not allowed to testify in the courts (until recently), yet called lawless; not allowed to become American

citizens, yet accused of being clannish and unassimilable—these are facts about our Chinese immigrants which no amount of argument or excuse can make either attractive or consistent with the spirit of American democracy. And yet they are facts of the year 1916.

When asked what the greatest need of the Chinese in this country is, or what needs most to be done for them, the invariable reply which comes from the Chinese leaders is this: "A less harsh administration of the present Chinese exclusion laws." They do not demand unrestricted immigration—many of them do not think it advisable. But they do demand a living up to the spirit of our famous Burlingame treaty with China in 1880. Instead of only limiting the immigration of Chinese labourers we have to all intents and purposes absolutely prohibited it—contrary to our treaty. Instead of giving to the permitted classes of Chinese immigrants (teachers, students, travellers for curiosity or pleasure, merchants and officials) the treatment accorded to the same class of people of other favoured nations we force them to go through a maze of red tape to secure entrance to the country; we force Chinese in the United States to have certificates of identification; and either to furnish the Government with photographs of themselves or else be photographed on their arrival at Angel Island, like convicts—all contrary to the spirit of our treaty. Even those who have been residents here we oblige to secure credentials to allow them simply to make a year's trip to China and then return here. How-

ever courteous our immigration officials may be, the intricacies of the law are so numerous, and the treatment of the incoming Chinese so much like the treatment of prisoners or of suspected smugglers, that the feelings and dignity of these people are greatly offended. However friendly may be the feelings of the two governments at present, the California treatment of the Chinese "will always be a dark spot," as one of the Chinese expressed it.

These facts explain why it is that most of the young Chinese educated in America return to China. There is no opportunity open before them in the United States. They are at a disadvantage in getting any sort of employment no matter how well qualified they may be. They cannot become citizens unless they were born here. But in China vast fields of opportunity await them; all her resources need to be developed; she needs trained men for this work. Thus it is that many of the coming generation of Chinese leaders developed here are going back to China to wield their influence—leaving the American Chinese without a distinctive leadership.

To a people who are splendidly industrious; who have kept their lawlessness to themselves; who have lived in the midst of the vilest American surroundings and yet have kept themselves out of its influence to a wonderful degree; who have suffered from personal violence, race prejudice, and great lack of any assistance toward better ways of living—the United States owes the duty of keeping its own treaty, which for thirty years to all intents and purposes we have

made a mere "scrap of paper." And to these Chinese people, who are making a sister Republic under the inspiration of our leadership, the United States owes the opportunity of citizenship, in the name of democracy and brotherhood.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE JAPANESE

LAST but not least we come to the Japanese in the United States—perhaps the most interesting feature of the immigration situation. More than with any other nationality has the Japanese immigration problem been fraught of late years with international complications, making it seem a more important question in its demands on our attention than the European immigration problem. It is far more of a political, economic and racial question than are the problems of European immigration in our Eastern states; though at bottom all the immigration questions, no matter how deeply covered up with social and economic aspects, are the same. Each in the final analysis is simply this—a question of the treatment to be afforded by American individuals, singly and collectively, to other individuals of other races and from other climes. The immigration problem is first, last, and always a problem of the brotherhood of man—how an American is to treat a fellow human being.

Before we consider the problems and characteristics of the present situation among the Japanese in America, let us get clearly before our minds the facts. In 1910 the federal census reported 72,157 as the

total number of Japanese in the United States. According to the figures given in Prof. H. A. Millis' "The Japanese Problem in the United States," the probable total number of Japanese in the United States in December, 1913, was 95,679. Since then the net increase in our Japanese population has, according to immigration statistics up to June 30, 1915, been only 7,863. Consequently it seems impossible to estimate the present Japanese population of the United States at more than 105,000; while if one relied solely on the census and immigration reports the estimates would only reach 80,000. The fourth annual report of the "Dendo Dan" in August, 1915, gives the total Japanese population in the United States as 99,321. Emphasis is laid on this fact because of the oft-repeated assertion that there are 300,000 Japanese in the United States—an assertion for which there seems to be no basis in actual fact.

This Japanese population is settled largely on the Pacific Coast. In 1913 there were 59,755 Japanese in California, 14,794 in Washington, 3,672 in Oregon, 3,651 in Colorado—with most of the others scattered through the remaining western and mountain states. New York City and its environs is the only place in the eastern part of the country where there is a population of even 1,000 Japanese. It is not strange then that the interest and agitation over Japanese immigration have been far larger in the Pacific Coast states than elsewhere in the country.

The city having the largest group of Japanese is Los Angeles, where the secretary of the Japanese As-

sociation estimates the winter population as about 9,000. Of course San Francisco comes next in point of numbers with some 7,000 or more, followed closely by Seattle with about 6,000; Sacramento, Oakland, Portland, Oregon, and New York City are the other large city centres. But in point of the proportion of Japanese to the total population many small towns in California rank high—notably Florin, with its 800 or 900 Japanese, and many other such places. It is in communities similar to this last that the anxiety over the Japanese problem has been greatest.

As far as it concerns immigration itself there is at present no Japanese immigration problem. For the number of Japanese immigrants annually coming to our shores is very small and does not include "labourers," because of the splendid manner in which Japan is keeping the "Gentlemen's Agreement" which she made with us in 1907. The present Japanese immigration problem is the problem of the treatment of the Japanese already in America.

The most noteworthy feature about the presence of the Japanese as workers in this country is the great proportion of their numbers engaged in farm work. Aside from the few thousands employed in the mines of Wyoming and California, as track workers on all the great railroads of the Far West, and in the lumber camps and mills of Washington and Oregon, those who are not in the city centres as business men, domestic servants or students are largely farmers. Of 71,299 adult males the *Japanese American* for 1913 estimated the number of farmers and farm labourers

at 31,496—more than twice as many as were engaged in any other line of work, and nearly half of the total. This gives to the Japanese a distinct characteristic, unique among most of the immigrant people of our land. They are out in the country on the farms, where it is felt that it would be so well if our European immigrants could also be.

The vast majority of the Japanese here come from the farming or labour class of Japan. Their industry and skill have been evidenced in two ways—in their displacing white farmers in the central California region, and in their turning pasture land into productive gardens in the region surrounding Los Angeles.

Stop with me on a bright May morning before a small, unpainted house in the midst of hundreds of acres of farm and truck garden lands near Los Angeles. Here you will meet one of the prominent Japanese farmers, a black-moustached, courteous gentleman with the inevitable Japanese smile and politeness. In front of us runs a sluiceway through which flows a steady stream of water to irrigate the 700 acres of which our friend has charge. Of this he is himself working 400 acres, while the remainder is leased to Italians, Mexicans and other Japanese farmers. Behind us are two or three Americans whose work in mending a break in his artesian well the smiling farmer is carefully superintending. In every direction stretch fields of strawberry and raspberry bushes and of all sorts of truck vegetables. Close at hand, gazing up at us silently with their big black eyes, are the farmer's three small children, whose appearance is Japanese, but

A GLIMPSE OF JAPANESE BERRY FIELDS IN CALIFORNIA

whose actions and talk are all American. Twenty-five years in this country, for much of that time as a worker on the railroad until he rose to be a foreman, and now back at his fatherland profession of farming, this man is an example of what an intelligent Japanese can become in California. Familiar with the rotation of crops, with methods of irrigation and with the other devices of scientific farming, this farmer is a leader among his people.

From his home you can drive for miles and miles surrounded by land that a few years ago was uncultivated pasture, but now is blossoming with acres of carnations and sweet peas, acres of well-kept "nurseries," acres of orange groves and acres of vegetables. All these are under the skilful tillage of the "little brown men" of the Far East.

How important a part the Japanese thus have in the economic life of the state of California one can understand more clearly if he will get up some morning at 5 A. M. and go down to the "New" and the "Old Markets" in Los Angeles. Here in tremendous "hollow squares" formed by great wholesale produce houses one finds truck wagons crowded together so thickly that it is a ticklish job to make one's way among them. And these truck garden marketers are of cosmopolitan breed—Poles, Greeks, Italians, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese. But so largely do the latter predominate that these two markets are known as the "Japanese markets." In the "Old Market" two-thirds of those having stalls are Japanese; in the "New Market" the Secretary of the Market Association is a

Japanese. Now here, now there, you will notice a neatly dressed young Oriental who will turn out to be the secretary of the N. C. Farmers' Association (with 172 members). His duties are to be on hand every morning from 2-7 A. M., while the market is open, to protect the Japanese farmers who cannot speak English from being cheated by the buyers, of whom the Greek peddlers are the worst offenders. Thus this young Japanese is using his education to protect the rights and welfare of his own people.

Or go to the Flower Market in Los Angeles, open from 7.30-8.00 A. M., with its membership of 120, all of whom are Japanese—and you will realise how largely the cut-flower business of that neighbourhood is in the hands of the Japanese. The largest cut-flower business on the Pacific Coast is done by a San Francisco Japanese who has a fine store there and extensive gardens outside the city.

A second feature of Japanese immigration that is very noticeable is the scarcity of Japanese women. For many years after 1900, when Japanese immigration first began to attract attention, very few women and children came from "the land of the cherry blossom." The result of this condition was a good deal of immorality among the Japanese men, which consequently marred the reputation of their moral standards. Without women to form homes the incentive to permanency of location and to dependability was often sadly lacking. Hence it has been a decided change for the better that during the last few years much of the Japanese immigration has consisted of women. There

is no doubt that the moral condition of the Japanese has thereby been greatly benefited, and much of the immorality of which they were once justly accused has been done away with.

In connection with the coming of these women a peculiar custom of the Japanese is brought to light. On a recent trip in June, 1916, the steamship *Tenyo Maru* brought to Angel Island (the San Francisco Ellis Island—perhaps named "Angel" because it is the landing place for most of the Celestials) a load of 242 Japanese. Of this number 106 were women, of whom 39 were "Picture Brides." It is impossible to forget the sight of these 100 Japanese women, dressed in their dark-coloured kimonos, looking for all the world as though they had just come off a post-card picture, standing in line at Angel Island listening to some words of instruction from the Japanese matron about American methods of sanitation.

But what are "Picture Brides?" In Japan a man does not choose his own wife nor fall in love with her before they are married. Instead of that, two "go betweens"—one a friend of the girl's family and one of the man's family—seek a suitable mate for their friends, examining into the heredity, health and ability of possible candidates, consummating arrangements, and bringing the bride and groom to the wedding, often without their having ever seen each other before.

So then, when the Japanese in America wanted to marry, there being so very few Japanese women here, they had to send to Japan for them. Thus the habit

grew up of sending pictures of themselves to the bride picked out for them by their "go-between" friends, and so their brides have come to be known as "Picture Brides." Before the bride leaves Japan there is a wedding ceremony with a "proxy" for groom. As this form of marriage is legal in Japan, the young woman comes over as the legal wife of her as yet unseen husband. But in order to satisfy the laws of the United States another ceremony takes place here on the bride's arrival and with the groom in attendance.

There are many who claim that this "Picture Bride" custom is immoral and should be ended. But the Japanese interpreter at Angel Island said that she had known of but one case in which this "Picture Bride" marriage was not successful in every way. Different as it is from our American custom, it yet has many features of the modern eugenic ideas of marriage about which so much is being said to-day.

One other result of the increase in the numbers of women has been the recent increase in the number of Japanese children. It is not an alarming fact as some would have us think. Rather it is very natural, since most of the Japanese men and women here are young in years. It augurs well for the future in binding the Japanese more loyally to America, making them more settled, and developing the very best means of family and home assimilation through the American education of their children.

Turning now to the important factors in the organised life of the Japanese of the United States, we find

the central force in every community is the organisation known as the Japanese Association. In San Francisco it has its headquarters in a recently-erected two-story brick building. On the first floor is a Japanese cut-flower store, while upstairs are the offices of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, the Japanese Association and other organisations. After waiting a few minutes in the main office of the Association, where three or four well-dressed young Japanese are busy at their desks, you will be shown into the inner office. Here you will meet a most interesting man, whose courtesy, kindness and fund of information immediately inspire your confidence. Well educated, a Christian, speaking English exceptionally well—this is the secretary of the Japanese Association.

Among the leaders of the Japanese in every city are the secretaries of the Japanese Associations. There are three main offices of this Association—in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Portland, Oregon. Under the southern headquarters there are about 17 branches, under the central one about 37, and under the northern about 12. Thus there are over 60 Japanese Associations in different places along the Pacific Coast—each the centre of the Japanese life of the community.

Their purpose is to try to bring about a closer understanding of America by the Japanese. Among the activities kept up by them are: central buildings or reading rooms—lectures in Japanese colonies on the customs, manners and ideals of America—daily kindergartens and schools to teach the Japanese children their own language—investigations for the Japanese

Consuls of the record of the men here who want "Picture Brides"—printing our public school rules in Japanese so that parents of the Japanese school children may understand them—teaching the children American games—and the promotion of the formation of such organisations as the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Japanese Agricultural Associations. As the secretary in Los Angeles said, "The purpose of the Association is to educate the Japanese in the American language, customs and ideals, and to promote mutual good feeling and understanding."

Out of the 9,000 Japanese in Los Angeles, of whom 3,500 are women and children, the Association has 2,000 members, constituting more than one-third of the Japanese population, as only men are allowed to join it. The immigration officials and all acquainted with the Japanese life in this country freely admit that the Japanese Associations are doing their best to educate and Americanise their people. In 1915 they brought over from Japan a Japanese Christian minister and his wife who spent many weeks going to practically every Japanese settlement in the west, accompanied by the Secretary of the Association, lecturing on American ideals and ways, and urging the Japanese people to adopt them. This was done because it was thought that a Japanese Christian who had been in constant contact with American missionaries could best interpret the spirit of America to the Japanese here. When a reporter asked this preacher why he had come over here, he replied, "To Americanise the

Japanese here"—then corrected himself and said, "No, to internationalise them."

Quite different from the Japanese Association is the Japan Society of America. The majority of its members are Americans. Its object is "to foster and encourage a cordial relationship between the peoples of America and Japan." Its second corresponding secretary, a delightful Japanese, a graduate of the University of Michigan, pointed out that its purpose was to inform the Americans about the Japanese, as the purpose of the Japanese Association is to inform the Japanese about America.

The Japanese newspaper editors have a great opportunity for leadership, though opinions seem to differ as to their real influence. They have a large number of dailies, three in Los Angeles, some in San Francisco and others in Seattle. But aside from perhaps one San Francisco paper, most of them appear to be just business propositions without any particular constructive policy. One Los Angeles Japanese editor said that the purpose of Japanese papers was just the same as that of any American paper.

In the San Francisco Japanese section two of the largest stores are book stores. They have a large assortment of books and magazines—of all the varieties that one could find in any American book store. While most of these books are printed in Japan, quite a number are "made in America," including the *Japanese American Review,* whose cover has the colours of the combined flags of the two nations. These stores have a prominent position and are in greater evidence than

such stores usually are among our immigrant people. The reason for this probably lies in the high percentage of literacy among the Japanese. "More than nine in ten read and write their native language," says Professor Millis. Their percentage of illiteracy in 1910 was only 9.2, while that for all foreign born whites was 12.7. It is not surprising then that it needs men of education to be leaders among them.

A larger place of leadership is filled by the Japanese consuls than by the consuls of most of our other immigrant nationalities. It may be a sense of national loyalty which gives to these Japanese consuls in every town a position of great prominence and influence. But so many of the Japanese questions of the past ten years have had a political and international bearing that, more than might be expected, these government officials have been in close touch with every phase of the situation. This fact gives to the words of their Los Angeles vice-consul a special interest: "In the view of the Japanese there is no immigration question at present between Japan and America, because that question was finally settled ten years ago, when we stopped our immigration in the manner satisfactory to the government of the United States. However, if there is still any question between the two countries, it has indeed nothing to do with our immigrants who will come, but it would simply be the question of how to treat those who are already in this country. I have indeed every reason to trust and believe that America is great and good enough to grant them just and fair treatment.

"I like to believe that human nature is practically the same everywhere at all times. I believe that when we meet each other man to man, and heart to heart, we shall always find that human actions are prompted by the same fundamental motives, whether we are Americans or Japanese, or of any other nationality."

This national consciousness seen in the leadership of the consuls is marked also in the desire of the Japanese to be distinguished from the Chinese. In Portland, Oregon, in the public street markets the Chinese market men are all on one side of the street, the Japanese on the other.

Throughout the country the Japanese have a bone of contention with the Chinese because of the Chinese gambling houses. These have done a large business with the Japanese, so that nearly all the leading Japanese look upon the Chinese gambling houses as the worst vice among the Japanese. As one Japanese said rather contemptuously, "Gambling is the Chinese national game."

At Angel Island the Japanese immigrants are always examined and allowed to enter ahead of the Chinese —this being largely due, however, to the great amount of red tape entailed by the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act. But the Japanese and Chinese have separate quarters at Angel Island, and do not mingle as do the cosmopolitan groups at Ellis Island. It was interesting also to learn of the dissatisfaction of the Japanese at Angel Island with the cooking, which is all done there by Chinese cooks. The Japanese do not find the Chinese dishes palatable and, though by an

extra payment they can secure American meals, those who have not the necessary funds find the Chinese meals not so enjoyable as they might desire.

Apparently both the Japanese and Chinese here look down on each other. The Japanese section of San Francisco is far cleaner, less noticeably foreign, and has a less conspicuous atmosphere than the crowded, confined Chinatown. The Japanese here are as a rule a better educated class than the Chinese, and more representative of Japan than are the Chinese of China. As one prominent Seattle Japanese said: "The Japanese and Chinese have entirely different customs and manners, and consequently do not always get on very well together. Although here in Seattle they live right alongside each other, the Japanese do not care to work with the Chinese, for they want to be moving up toward American ways rather than down toward Chinese ways."

Yet while the Japanese are quicker and more skilful than the Chinese, the Chinese have a better reputation for steadiness and reliability as labourers and as business men than the Japanese. The editor of a Portland daily paper remarked that he thought there was a widespread distrust of the Japanese as tricky and sly; that although they are better in this respect now, there has been basis for this distrust of them in the past; that some people will trade with the Chinese but not with the Japanese down at the market; and that there is not such feeling against the Chinese, whom everybody seems to like.

Therefore it is well to realise this distinction be-

tween the Japanese and Chinese. In dealing with them it must be remembered that, whereas to us as Americans they may both be "just Orientals," to themselves there are Orientals and Orientals—with a wide distinction between the Japanese and the Chinese.

When we come to look for leaders in the religious field among the Japanese we do not find any who stand out so prominently as do the priests among some of our European immigrants. Nominally the religion of the Japanese is Buddhism. But the influence of this religion on their life is at present small. Wherever the Japanese are in the cities, Christianity seems to more than hold its own against Buddhism. So frequent and close is the contact of the Japanese, especially the children, with Christian people, that Buddhism fails to grow. Its hold on the people remains stronger among the farm folk of the country districts. The Buddhist temple in Los Angeles has for its congregation mostly farmer folk from the region around Los Angeles. Another distinction is that while the Buddhist faith may retain the older people, it succeeds in holding very few of the younger Japanese men and women.

In San Francisco is the chief temple of the Buddhists in America. Its priest, dressed in an American frock coat, gladly shows one through the building. On the ground floor is a gymnasium and hall (called the Young Men's Buddhist Hall), in the rear of which are an office and a library. Downstairs on Sunday morning they have a Sunday School, giving out picture cards to the smaller children just as Christian Sunday

Schools do. On the upper floors are dormitories where ten young men live, while above the gymnasium is the temple proper, or religious meeting place. If one did not know that he was in a Buddhist temple he might mistake it for a Japanese Y. M. C. A.

"The Buddhists here are not so sincere as the Christians. The former are Buddhists just because their parents were, but the Christians are Christian by conviction," said a Japanese young fellow at the Los Angeles Buddhist temple. There on Saturday, May 20th, and Sunday, May 21st, 1916, was held the "Festival of the Commemoration of the Birthday of Buddha." Similar to our Christmas day in its origin, it was interesting to note the crowd of some one or two hundred that gathered on Saturday evening to witness the special programme, which consisted of "Japanese classic dances, the Japanese drama, music and songs, Oriental tabloes, accompanied by native musical instruments, wonderful magic, and Oriental sleight-of-hand performances." Here were a mixed crowd of Japanese, negroes and whites. Because of their being "heathen" it had been impossible for the Japanese to get land for their Buddhist building in the down town Japanese section of the city, so that they were compelled to buy in the outskirts of the city in the negro quarter.

The modernisation of their Buddhism was shown still farther on Sunday afternoon when the meeting was all in English, addressed by theosophists and other Americans. After the service tea was served in the dining-room, for the building is equipped with

class rooms, an office, kitchens, dining-room, and dormitories for about 20 Japanese children. These children, whose parents are farmers living too far away for their children to reach school from their homes, live here, attend the public schools and then at the temple are taught Japanese for an hour each day. It did seem rather an anomaly to hear these children playing "London Bridge" in English on the lawn of the temple after this Sunday afternoon Buddhist meeting. It made one feel as did the person who said some years ago, "When you get a Buddhist priest on a bicycle there isn't much hope for Buddhism."

However, the Buddhists have thirty congregations in this country and nineteen temples in California. The Dendo Dan reported in August, 1915, the membership of the Buddhist temples as 10,220.

With but 10,000 out of the 100,000 Japanese in America professing Buddhism, what of the extent of Christian mission work among the Japanese immigrants? Although there are many Protestant denominations at work, among the estimated 60,000 Japanese in California only about 3,000 are professing Christians, while the number of their Protestant church members in all of North America is only 4,391. The Roman Catholics also have at least one mission, recently opened in Los Angeles, where one Japanese-speaking priest and six Japanese "sisters" are carrying on a helpful work. Among their members is the editor of one of the Los Angeles Japanese dailies. It may be that their work will increase in size, for one-half of the Christians in Japan itself are Roman

Catholics. But for the most part a large majority of the Japanese in America are left religionless.

Nearly all the Protestant pastors are men of first-class education—as the situation demands. Much of the general Protestant work is under the charge of the Dendo Dan, or Japanese Interdenominational Board of Missions. This is a union effort, backed by the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist and Christian Church Boards—and has been very successful in sending Japanese evangelists out to the small groups of Japanese scattered up and down the Pacific Coast away from any religious organisation. The outlook is bright, for the sentiment among all the Japanese is favourable to Christianity, especially among the young people.

Distinguished among our immigrant races by their large agricultural population, yet the Japanese more than many others want an educated leadership. It is the men of intelligence and training who are their men of influence whether they be editors, or officers of the Japanese Associations, or consuls, or ministers. Energetic and capable, they are making rapid progress in their own development.

The Japanese Immigration Question

The remark of a Presbyterian Japanese pastor in Southern California, who said, "The California attitude and laws have been great stumbling blocks in the work of Christianising the Japanese here; it has been very hard to overcome this difficulty," makes

BUDDHIST TEMPLE, SAN FRANCISCO

it necessary for us to look into the history of the Japanese immigration question. Just what did he mean by "the California attitude and laws"? Let the following very brief summary of facts suffice for an answer, as the political, social and economic bearings of the Japanese problem are necessary to a real understanding of it.

Since 1900, when Japanese immigration first became a mooted question, there has been a constant organised opposition to Japanese immigration and to the Japanese immigrants. The large annual number of Japanese immigrants, their prominent place in the agricultural communities, and the opposition of the labour unions to them were the chief factors in the situation. Coupled at first with a demand for the reenactment of the Chinese exclusion law, in May, 1905, this organised opposition took shape in the formation of the Asiatic Exclusion League. Matters finally came to a head in the order of the San Francisco Board of Education for the separation of the Chinese and Japanese school children from the white school children.

The Japanese government was thus brought into the affair, with the result that in March, 1907, the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan went into effect, providing, "that the Japanese government shall issue passports to the continental United States only to such of its subjects as are non-labourers or are labourers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing here, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming

enterprise in this country." Accordingly the classes of labourers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated "former residents," "parents, wives or children of residents," and "settled agriculturists."

Japan has kept her share of this "Agreement" so well that since 1908 the number of adult Japanese males in America has diminished by 15,139. Yet constant attempts have been made on the Pacific Coast to pass anti-Japanese bills. But it was not until 1913 that any further political action was taken. Then the California legislature passed the Alien Land bill. This bill, taking advantage of the fact that our Federal government does not grant citizenship by naturalisation to eastern Asiatics, makes it impossible for Japanese to buy land for agricultural purposes, or to lease it for a period longer than three years, or to inherit such property.

Although not mentioning the Japanese by name, the law is so worded that its application is almost entirely to the Japanese. Its aim was to restrict their agricultural activities. Again Japan protested, pointing out that the law discriminated against the Japanese, and that it was unnecessary because of the strict manner in which she was keeping her part of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." Though efforts were made by the President, under our system of government it was impossible for the Federal government to control the state government in this matter. Thus the question was left. But we had offended Japan because there was no need for such a law so long as Japan kept the "Gentlemen's Agreement." It only showed a distrust

of the Japanese government for which there was no basis. And for that matter, we are still continuously offending her, as nothing has been done to revoke this unfortunate legislation.

The opposition to the Japanese which has resulted in this legislation has been based on several contentions. In the first place there is the opposition of union labour. It has been based on three arguments: (1) that the Japanese worked for lower wages than did white labour; (2) that the Japanese could live for less than the Americans, and (3) that the Japanese allowed their women to work in the fields with them. All these contentions have been true. But to-day in nearly every kind of labour the Japanese is getting the same wage as the American; the Japanese scale of living is continually rising; and the increasing number of women in both Europe and America who are doing men's work without the objection of union labour makes the latter's third argument untimely now.

A second contention has been that it was impossible to assimilate the Orientals, especially in any social way, or through intermarriage. But the fact remains that most of the Japanese are strongly opposed to intermarriage, and do not desire it any more than do Americans. They feel that it is not an essential part of assimilation, and have not sought it as such. There have been only a very few cases of intermarriage.

Again there is the feeling that the Japanese have been deceitful, tricky, and thus dangerous. Though there are many instances which support this conten-

tion, conditions have so changed in the last ten years among the Japanese, both in Japan and in the United States, that this criticism is no longer true as a general proposition, though it still is true in individual cases.

At present there is little organised opposition to the Japanese except by a few groups like the Anti-Japanese Laundry League of Oakland. There are fifteen Japanese laundries in Oakland, doing a large business, and in many instances charging cheaper prices than the American or French laundries. The League does its work by sending out "trailers," who follow the delivery wagons of the Japanese laundries, secure the names of their patrons and then besiege them with letters and circulars. These circulars give "a few reasons why you should not patronise or employ Japanese or Chinese in any manner" for "it is un-American to patronise or employ Orientals." The spirit in which such a propaganda can be carried on is best expressed by the following conversation. Going into a small shoe repair shop in Oakland, I asked for a laundry list. When the cobbler had handed me the price list of an American laundry for which he was an agent, I inquired if the Japanese and American laundries all did the work for the same price. He replied that they did (in which he was mistaken), but added, "I wouldn't give 'em (the Japanese laundries) anything if their prices weren't the same. If they'd do 'em for nothing, I wouldn't give 'em to a Jap." To which the owner of one of the big Japanese laundries rather pointedly replied that he did not see why it was not better all round to have the people get

six cents' worth of goods for five cents if the Japanese laundries could furnish it.

Two other kinds of anti-Japanese discrimination are worthy of notice. One is the fact that Japanese are not allowed to become members of the labour unions—with exceptions in some places, such as in the miner's unions in Wyoming. In some cases, as in Seattle, the Japanese have their own barber's union and are affiliated with the American barber's union. This almost universal discrimination gives a rather sharp point to the question which one prominent Japanese said he couldn't solve: "Why do the unions accuse us of underbidding them in wage prices, and yet not allow us to join the unions (so that we couldn't underbid)?" And this same man had one other hard riddle to solve, "Why do the Californians prevent the Japanese from buying land on which to settle and build permanent homes, and then accuse us of being un-assimilable, and of building shabby homes?"

A second form of discrimination is this—that in Los Angeles and San Francisco the Japanese are not allowed to be members of the American Y. M. C. A. Although in Los Angeles they have therefore organised a Y. M. C. A. of their own, it seems peculiar that race prejudice should so enter into a Christian organisation like the Y. M. C. A. One of the desk men in a large California Y. M. C. A., speaking not as representing the Y. M. C. A. attitude, but merely as giving his own personal opinion, said that he had come out to the Coast unprejudiced against the Japanese, but that he could not stand them now. "If I

had my way they never would be in the Y. M. C. A.; for if there were a Japanese in one of the business men's classes here, the class would break up." "If Japanese were allowed here one-half the members would quit," said another secretary in the San Francisco Y. M. C. A.

In an endeavour to state what lay at the bottom of this anti-Japanese feeling of the last fifteen years on the Pacific Coast the following reasons were given: The Superintendent of the Presbyterian work among the Japanese immigrants, an American, said, "Race and religious prejudice"; the secretary of the Japanese Association (a Japanese) replied: "(1) Inherited anti-Chinese feeling; (2) fear; (3) economic reasons"; the professor of immigration at Leland Stanford (a Japanese), "race prejudice underneath the economic argument"; a labour union member of the California legislature, "economic reasons, not race prejudice" (and yet the unions do not allow the Japanese to be members); the Y. M. C. A. Immigration Secretary in San Francisco (an American), "the ignorance of the American people"; the secretary of the Japan Society (a Japanese), "inherited Chinese hatred, fallen on the Japanese"; the president of the Japan Society (an American), "economic and racial reasons." And finally a young Californian, a recent graduate of an eastern university, when asked why he did not want to let any more Japanese into the country, replied, "My first, second and last reason is because I don't like them and I'm scared of 'em."

Thus we find the Japanese immigration question

unique among the immigration questions of the country. It augurs well for the future that the feeling about it in California is now so much better than it was five or ten years ago; that the labour unions are becoming more friendly in their attitude; that the Japanese are so conscientiously striving to improve their own faults; and that so many people and organisations are seeking to give the Japanese now here a square deal. As many of the Japanese themselves feel, the immigration question is closed now that the "Gentlemen's Agreement" is in effect. But there is one imperative demand which democracy, justice, the square deal and Christianity make upon the people of America. This demand is that the franchise be extended to the Japanese, now in America, who desire it. This would automatically annul such legislation as the California Alien Land bill and so would remove the causes of Japan's very just complaints to our government of unjust and discriminating treatment. It is high time that we Americans awoke to our need of giving this opportunity to all people who desire it and qualify for it, regardless of their race or colour.

PART FIVE

AMERICAN SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS IMMIGRANT LEADERSHIP

CHAPTER XIX

SOME AMERICAN EFFORTS AT IMMIGRANT LEADERSHIP

THAT the effect of an immigrant's coming to America is felt not only by himself but also by our whole national life is a truth to which good people have recently been awaking. In dealing with the whole immigrant situation it would be unfair to speak only of the leaders and organisations among the different foreign nationalities themselves and not to consider the great interest that is being taken in their welfare by large numbers of native American organisations and individuals throughout all parts of the country. The reflex effect upon our own American life of the coming of the immigrant tide to our shores shows itself in the new opportunities for constructive social effort which have been seized upon by both public and private American organisations. Imperfect and inadequate though they may be *in toto* and *in solo,* they yet are cheering sign-posts on the road to a fuller dealing with the problems of immigration and democracy.

What are some of these efforts at American leadership and what is their effect on the immigrant people?

Public Efforts

The first touch which the immigrant has with the United States is with our Federal government through its men and equipment at the immigration ports of entry. This introduction to the United States is quite different from the first glimpse that a native born American has of his country. The government is for most of us one of the last things with which we have any necessary dealings; with the immigrants it is the first. Much depends, therefore, on the first impression which will be gained largely through the personal treatment given by the officials at Ellis Island, Angel Island, at Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia and the other ports of entry. Year by year the government is making conditions at these places more attractive. Due to the efforts of some of the men in the immigration service constant attempts are being made to give Ellis Island less the appearance of a prison, and more that of a place of hospitality and courtesy. Inadequate as its facilities will be if, after the war, immigration again soars up toward the million mark, it will yet be giving the strangers a less annoying welcome than was the case some years ago. The great hospitals, the provision of "kosher" meals for the Hebrew newcomers, the opportunities for play provided for those who are detained at the island, the Sunday afternoon concerts, are simply signs to the immigrant that the government is not a mere machine, but has a heart in its work as well.

Although a commissioner of immigration on the

Pacific Coast believes that the Chinese exclusion law was the best law Congress ever passed, and though he says he is racking his brain to think of ways in which to keep the Chinese out of the country, quite a different spirit is manifested by the commissioner at Ellis Island. He turns his attention to efforts to make the treatment of the immigrants by the government as humanitarian and democratic as possible. Thus the personnel of the immigration service often gives a different first impression of America to different immigrants.

But after the immigrant has left Ellis Island the Federal government has done almost nothing for him, though Commissioner Howe says it is going to try to do more. So far its constructive efforts beyond the walls of the immigrant stations have been centred about a distributing bureau, originally formed in 1907, and given larger scope in 1914. Whereas the purpose of this Federal bureau, known as the Division of Information, Bureau of Immigration, U. S. Department of Labour, was to distribute the new immigrants as far as possible to the farm and country districts, in actual practice the bureau has turned out to be a great Federal employment agency, which in 1915 found places for 11,871 applicants. This bureau, as yet hardly known to most Americans, has distributing branches in 18 cities, with sub-branches in more than 60 other centres, and is fast becoming an important cog in the employment machinery of the country. In 1915 it had 90,119 applicants for positions.

Through the Bureau of Naturalisation of the De-

partment of Labour the Federal government is also keeping in touch with its future citizens. This bureau has administrative authority over all matters concerning the naturalisation of aliens. By co-operating with the public schools of the whole country, by providing an outline course in citizenship, and by keeping record of the educational opportunities of all immigrants it is securing a more systematic provision for all immigrants to learn English and become citizens.

Thus it is as a reception committee, as an employment committee and as an educational committee that the Federal government exercises the functions of leadership among the immigrants.

Among the States, California is at present one of the few which is tackling the immigrant proposition in a big, constructive way, with a permanent "Immigration Commission." Massachusetts, New York and other states have had "Immigration Commissions" of one or more years' duration, but, having made their investigations and reports, most of these commissions have gone out of existence. As a result of the work of her commission, New York State established a Bureau of Industries and Immigration in 1910. Other states, such as Wisconsin, have at times had immigration commissions whose main purpose was merely to attract immigrants to that particular state. No attempts were made, after getting the immigrants to their states, to do anything for them.

But as one of the members of the California Commission said, "California has the only good state commission." Appointed in 1913 as the "Commission of Im-

migration and Housing in California," it consists of five members. Including a Roman Catholic bishop, a Presbyterian minister, the secretary of the California Federation of Labour, and a woman it represents a variety of religious and economic interests. The list of contents of its second annual report in January, 1916, gives a clue to its activities: Labour Camp Inspection, Bureau of Complaints, Immigrant Education, Housing, Constructive Housing, Distribution of Immigrants, Unemployment, Legislation. Having discovered that over one-half of the inhabitants of labour camps in California were immigrants, it attacked, and helped immediately to better, many of the labour camp conditions. It has published leaflets for the education of the immigrant, drawn up plans for model buildings for camps, and actually secured the erection of such buildings in construction camps.

But most interesting of all is the plan it has worked out for solving the problem of "home education" for immigrant women. Realising that the public schools are for the whole family, and that previously "we have reached out for every member of the family except the mother," the California Commission is taking the next logical step—"to educate the mother." Briefly the plan is this—to have a few well-qualified women teachers go to the homes of the immigrant women, each teacher using a school as her headquarters; to visit, teach English, domestic science, sewing and sanitation, and make the immigrant women feel the personal interest of the school and teacher in them. It is felt that if the mothers are to learn American

home standards and ideals the teacher must go to them. This is the first statewide attempt to use home teachers or "going about women," as the American Indians have been accustomed to call such teachers; and while the plan is still in its beginning it bids fair to be a far-reaching constructive effort to reach the immigrant home. Thus one state is taking the lead in an endeavour to meet the present situation and to be ready for any future immigration emergencies.

The need of some such form of state leadership is brought home to us again and again, especially by such misfortunes as the failing of four private banks in immigrant communities in Chicago in the summer of 1916. Without attempts by the state governments to protect the trusting immigrants from such illegitimate banking concerns, and to provide housing laws, such as are needed in New Jersey to enable local health authorities in its immigrant-laden industrial cities to protect them from the exploitation of careless landlords, there is bound to be little state loyalty among our immigrants. At present California and New York seem to be taking up the leadership in statewide work for immigrant welfare.

When we turn to see what our cities are doing for their foreign-speaking population the outlook seems more encouraging. City after city recently has taken cognisance of its duties in this line and is making a serious effort to tackle its job. Being closer to the immigrant than is the state, and having a more unified problem, the city can undertake its task more definitely. One of the first cities to undertake this

work was Cleveland. There a City Immigration Bureau was started as a part of the department of Public Welfare. "The City of Cleveland maintains this Bureau for the benefit of all immigrants coming from foreign countries. It assists those who intend to settle here and desire to become good American citizens. It gives you information and advice entirely free with reference to citizenship papers, employment, and other important matters," reads one of its publications. Its activities include depot work, where a city immigration officer meets and assists newcomers when the tide of immigration is high; divisions of employment, education, citizenship, information and complaints, publicity and publications. It prints in nine languages small guide books of the city telling of its schools, English classes, social settlements, banks and baths; and prints a very useful "Citizenship Manual for Cleveland, Ohio." It has joined with other organisations in a celebration of Americanisation Day by giving a public reception to newly naturalised citizens.

In ways such as these cities as cities are more and more beginning to take an interest in their own foreign-speaking inhabitants. Detroit, Rochester, New York, Chicago and many other cities are arousing their civic conscience on this subject and are seizing their opportunities.

That there is need of cities of every size the country over doing something along these lines is well illustrated by the attitude of a small but prominent residential suburb of Chicago. For three years it had a constantly increasing immigrant population which

soon numbered over 200. But the city did nothing for them. Almost none of them could speak English, yet there were no classes provided to teach them. The only dealing the city had with these immigrant people was through its police department, which had to make frequent visits to the immigrant boarding houses to enforce the sanitation and housing laws, and to arrest those who had imbibed too much of the liquor brought in by beer wagons to this "dry" town. At the city clerk's office were no records of the numbers or nationalities of the city's immigrant population. In response to a letter written to him concerning these immigrants, who happened to be largely Roumanians from Hungary, the city clerk replied, speaking of them as "Lithuanians," though there is as great a racial difference between these two peoples as between any two races in all Europe. This shows merely one of the ways in which even in the year 1916 many cities have neglected to care for their immigrant population.

While in some places there is good city leadership among the immigrants, and total lack of city leadership in other places, there is also much unfortunate city leadership. This usually is due to the activities of the politicians and the lack of activities of the police. Many of our local politicians have been men of Irish extraction whose respect for the niceties of moral honour and political sincerity have impressed the immigrants more by their absence than by their presence. So much so that there is a rather surprising but almost universal dislike of the Irish among every one of our immigrant nationalities. An Italian professor of im-

migration and economics in New York University questioned in his mind, "Why is it that only the unscrupulous and not the best citizens have been in ward politics?" It has been mainly through these petty politicians that many an immigrant has had his only contact with American life and citizenship—and it has not always been helpful.

Unbelievable, too, are stories that are told of the treatment of the immigrants by the police. The ignorance of the foreigner, combined with the authority and hard-heartededness on the part of the individual police, have made their leadership hated and contemptible to many of our newcomers.

It is time, therefore, that every city had its municipal consciousness aroused to providing helpful, constructive leadership to her immigrant population, instead of the repressive, unscrupulous leadership so often afforded by the police and politicians.

There are two other institutions of a "public" nature that are making progress in caring for our immigrants. One is the public library. In Homestead, Pennsylvania, where one is in the heart of the immigrant industrial population, the Carnegie Library stands on a prominent terrace overlooking the city. Here a splendid attempt is being made to have the library useful to the immigrant population as well as to the native Americans. It provides a night school class in the English language, and sometimes gives outdoor picture shows in the "foreign" ward. So far back as 1912 it reported books in "Hungarian, Slovak, Bohemian, Lithuanian, Polish, German, French and Italian"; that "two-thirds

of the children that use the Juvenile room are of foreign birth"; that 11 out of 41 events in the Music Hall were given by foreigners; and that "among the literary and study clubs are the Slovak American Literary Club with 90 or more members, the Hungarian Self Culture Society of equal size, the Greek Catholic Dramatic Club with a membership of 25, and the Slovak Citizens Club with 40 members." Its splendid equipment as a social centre building makes possible many of its activities, which are suggestive of what any library may attempt.

The Portland, Oregon, Public Library has adopted an interesting method of reaching the immigrant population. Each month it secures a list of the men who have taken out their "first papers" for citizenship, and sends to each of them a personal letter telling the location of the library, offering to aid them with books on "citizenship," and mentioning that magazines, papers, and books in many foreign languages are to be found there.

At Seattle one of the librarians has gone in person to many of the night school classes to invite the men to the library. Lists of books in their language were sent to various foreign societies, a list of "Graded Readings" from the simpler to the higher forms of English literature, and a list of books of which the library contains both an English and a foreign translation have been made. While sometimes it is difficult to know what books to secure in these foreign languages, as in the case of some Croatian books asked for by a Croatian society, "to educate their people"

in Seattle, and never used except once by the members of the society itself, yet public libraries can often supplement the work of other organisations in a way very helpful to the immigrant.

The Webster Branch of the New York City Public Library devotes one entire floor of its three-story building to a Bohemian department. Here, under a capable Bohemian librarian, it has 7,000 Bohemian volumes, a great variety of Bohemian magazines and newspapers, and a collection of Bohemian music. At times it gives exhibitions of Bohemian art and embroidery, while a committee of Bohemians helps in the selection of the books. Such a national department is possible only in the larger cities where one can find large colonies of one nationality in one locality, but it is very suggestive of the educational leadership the libraries are trying to afford.

Last but not least of public factors in immigrant leadership—in fact the most important and most indispensable factor in the unification of all our immigrant population—is the public school. We take its work so much as a matter of course that we often fail to grasp the tremendous influence it has in moulding "all comers" into potential Americans. It in itself is largely the reason that English eventually supplants all the mother tongues of Europe in the life of her children in America. In many of the New York City schools one looks in vain for a child whose American ancestry is even one generation old. At one school 90 per cent. of the children are Italians; at another, one can go into a class where Bohemians and

Hungarians predominate, and only a smattering of Irish and English are to be found. However, in the school it is hard to differentiate between the children. They are all alike, just "kids," whether they are Bohemian or Hungarian, Italian or Russian. The principal of a school will often say that he can not tell which nationality is the brighter for "They are all alike—just boys; some good, some bad, some bright, some dull."

It is really inspiring to have an opportunity to visit one of these big city schools to see with what orderliness and efficiency the whole day goes on, the confidence with which the teachers do their work, and the healthy American training they give the children. The drill in the use of English grammar and the class in American history are potent factors in the day's work. The influence of the schools is largely the result of their steady, daily, yearly teaching and atmosphere. They turn out Americans, who in turn help to make their homes American in spirit, and thus the school influence pervades the community.

In addition to this regular school work, there are public schools, such as the one with the Gary system in The Bronx, New York City, which take some active interest in the community and endeavour to make the school the centre of interest, entertainment, education and progress for a whole neighbourhood. Playgrounds, gardens, joint efforts to eliminate neighbourhood gangs of "rowdies," club meetings, lectures and concerts have made this school, under the leadership

TWO OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOL — A HUNGARIAN AND A LITHUANIAN BOY COMING FROM THE FAMOUS FROEBEL SCHOOL, GARY, INDIANA

of an Italian principal, the biggest factor in a great Italian section of the city.

The great spread of the movement for teaching English to the immigrants has brought the schools new opportunities. In Paterson, in the winter of 1915-16 there were 12 classes held, 4 nights a week for 16 weeks with over 375 pupils, men and women. Here was a personal contact of the schools with the immigrants, of the teachers with the immigrants. In Rochester immigrant training was begun and carried on by the Board of Education, which established a special department of immigrant education. During the past year it has had 2,500 on its lists for these classes. Los Angeles has awakened to its possibilities and her schools are very active in their work of teaching English.

That there has been need of an awakening of this kind by school boards is evidenced by the refusal of a school board in a West Virginia town to let one of its rooms be used by an American woman to teach English at night, though the schools were not themselves doing any work of this kind. Again, two years ago, some Poles in a New Jersey city offered to secure and pay for a teacher of English if the school board would only let them use a room at night. But the board refused because of the extra cost for light, heat and janitor service.

On the whole, however, the public schools are doing more for the advancement of the immigrant population than any other agency in the country. They are effective leaders.

Private Efforts

The increase on the part of large business concerns of the general "welfare" work among their employés, and the aroused interest in the immigrants due to the "hyphen" hysteria of the last year have resulted in fresh activity by business houses in behalf of their immigrant employés. In Detroit the Board of Commerce in August and September of 1915 conducted a large campaign of "Americanisation" which resulted in an increase in the night school registration of 153 per cent. Many unique methods were put into use, such as inserting slips about the night schools in the pay envelopes of the men, providing rooms in the shops for classes in English, and urging the great industries of the city to give a preference in promoting workmen to those who had become citizens. Thus the immigrant workmen have come to feel that "big business" has some interest in them and is trying to lead them somewhere.

The Pennsylvania Railroad recently established a young Italian, a graduate of Yale University, at the head of work among the 10,000 Italian men employed on their lines. He has now 3,000 Italians in educational work by means of correspondence lessons; he has prepared an Italian-English Naturalisation booklet; he seeks to have them become citizens; advises with them on investing their earnings, and goes among them to try and counteract the effect of occasional I. W. W. agitators and settle labour misunderstandings.

In such ways "big business" is beginning to have more a place of leadership as it takes a keener interest in the immigrant employés as men, rather than as mere business units.

Coming down a little closer to the immigrant himself, we find that among workmen the labour unions have since 1900 become more and more important. As the American Federation of Labour has no statistics in regard to the nationality of the membership in the organisations affiliated with it, it is difficult to know exactly how strong its influence is among the immigrant nationalities. In the anthracite region of Pennsylvania the miners are well organised and nearly all the men are union members. In some of these coal mining districts the union "locals" are organised largely along national lines—a Ruthenian local, a Polish local, a Slovak local—but this is not true as a general rule throughout the country. The feature of the unions and other labour organisations which has made them factors in welding together the interests of members with varying European ancestry has been that in these unions all have been brought together on the common ground of an American need for better working and living conditions.

Yet much of the unskilled labour of the country, which is largely composed of the immigrants, is altogether unorganised. Thus in Passaic, New Jersey, there is practically no labour organisation, for a large percentage of its industrial workers are unskilled. The labour unions, except in certain industries, have not been in as close touch with the immigrants as one

would have expected. One reason seems to be that union organisation has been rather among skilled labour than among the unskilled, while the immigrants largely make up our unskilled labour forces. Another reason has been the occasional race discrimination shown by the unions against the Italians, as well as against the Chinese and Japanese. This has caused friction between the immigrants and the unions.

In teaching the English language and in arousing the desire for a better economic condition among its immigrant members the labour union has exercised an educational leadership over our immigrant population. But it is doubtful if its influence has been as great as its numbers would lead one to suspect.

When we turn from business and labour to the field of religion we find that the American churches have begun to realise the demands upon them of the immigrant population. The immigrant may feel this at Ellis Island, where the churches vie with the government in giving the newcomers their first contact with America. There are now at the Island twenty-five missionaries and workers representing some thirteen evangelical denominations, distributing literature, investigating individual cases and rendering assistance to many a bewildered recent arrival.

Nearly all the great Protestant church bodies have a department for the supervision of immigrant work. Through pastors, either native or foreign born, who speak both English and some immigrant tongue, through English lessons, clubs and settlements they are attempting to meet the situation. Since they have

taken up this work so recently they have not as yet had a very great influence on our immigrant population as a whole. But as the years go by their increasing efforts and their broader plans are sure to exert a constantly growing influence on the minds and hearts of our immigrant population.

One of the most active forces at work among our "foreigners" is the Y. M. C. A. It has an immigration secretary in many of our large cities. Its labours have been largely of two kinds—depot work, meeting immigrants at railroad stations in order to direct them safely to their destinations; and classes in teaching English. During these last two years, due to the decrease in immigration, their depot work has practically ceased, while the need for English classes has also somewhat abated. But the Y. M. C. A. continues to serve the immigrants through lectures, moving pictures, and other means of education.

One interesting phase of their work has been the way in which they have aroused interest among college men in such work. This collegiate touch with the immigrant has been largely through English classes. In 1915-1916, after seven years, the Y. M. C. A. had secured the assistance of 4,000 workers in 250 colleges, with 100,000 foreigners directly affected.

The Y. W. C. A. carries on its immigration work through what it calls "The International Institutes." It is doing more for our immigrant women than any other one organisation—teaching English, having girls' clubs, doing friendly visiting. In New York City it has one club of sixty Greek girls, a rather unique

organisation because until lately there have been so few Greek girls in this country. In Los Angeles they use as headquarters a house in the Russian section of the city where they have club meetings, sewing classes and English classes. In such ways the Y. W. C. A. is endeavouring to care for those most neglected of all our immigrant population—the women and mothers.

There are numerous other efforts put forth on behalf of the immigrants by private organisations. In Chicago is the Immigrants' Protective League under the efficient management of Miss Grace Abbott. As you enter its office you find a sign of information in ten languages; when you reach the office you discover that they have seven or eight investigators and workers of as many different nationalities. A purely voluntary organisation, it renders station help, looks up individual cases of need and every year tries to study some particular phase of the immigration situation in Chicago. Thus in early 1916, after a study of the conditions among the Greek bootblacks, the attention of the American Federation of Labour was called to their unfortunate conditions and an effort made to unionize them. Later a study was made of the cases of those who had dropped out of the night school English classes, in order that suggestions might be made to the Board of Education for stopping this leakage.

The National Americanization Committee of New York City, with Miss Frances Kellor at its head, has as its purpose the Americanization of the immigrants. It endeavours to be a standardising agency, or clearing

house of information, for all work among immigrants. When any one wants to know how to go about solving some immigrant community problem this Committee will furnish information as to how to do it, and sometimes furnish practical assistance in doing it as well. Thus they sent down a doctor to Hopewell, Virginia, to assist in the work there at the time of the great fire in the spring of 1916. Beside the work of furthering classes in English and civics, co-operating with Chambers of Commerce (as they did in the recent Detroit campaign), and working through national societies such as the Polish National Alliance, they are endeavouring to arouse interest among American people in the immigrant situation.

To meet the need expressed by a member of the California Immigration Commission, who said, "I think the American people need to be awakened on this subject," the Americanization Committee, in conjunction with "The Committee for Immigrants in America," publishes quarterly *The Immigrants in America Review,* holds conferences and is carrying on an extensive educational campaign throughout the whole country.

Yet again such organisations as the Colonial Dames, which prints a "Primer of Civics" in three or four immigrant languages; the Sons of the American Revolution with its pamphlet, "Information for Immigrants Concerning the United States"; the Naturalisation Education Company of Pittsburg with its "Naturalisation Instructions" in nine languages, and many

other societies are coming forward with a new interest in our immigrant population.

Here and there our American newspapers are taking cognisance of the opportunity for them to serve our immigrant people. The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and the Pittsburg *Post* every day have a "Cosmopolitan" page on which news of interest to the different nationalities of these cities is given. In this way the American community has a fresh chance to become acquainted with the thought and life of the immigrant Americans, while the immigrants themselves feel that they are at last receiving some of the notice they deserve. By such means as this, or by columns in various foreign languages such as the Italian column of one of the New York City daily papers, the American press is beginning to get in touch with the immigrant people.

Along with the work of many settlements and other organisations the country over, these are some of the efforts, both public and private, at American leadership of the immigrant. While so many of these attempts at American leadership approach the immigrants through the idea of "Americanizing" them, it must be remembered, as Miss Balch says, that you cannot force Americanization on the immigrants. Helpful as all these efforts are, the ones which have in them the added feature of personal, individual interest and sympathy with the individual immigrant are the ones whose leadership is most effective, and whose efforts are bound to be the most useful.

CHAPTER XX

TRAINING FOR PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

IN the preceding chapters we have seen something of the kind of men who are now the leaders among our immigrant nationalities. The older type of leader holds his own among the adult and more ignorant immigrants, but among the younger people leaders with new and progressive ideas are coming into prominence. American ideals of democracy, freedom and education, and American labour conditions are casting the immigrant's mind in new moulds into which the old country leaders do not fit. More and more each nationality is demanding in its leaders intelligence, education and acquaintance with social conditions.

What sort of leaders has the Protestant church in America furnished to our immigrants? Are they of the old order or the new? This is an important consideration, for Prof. Steiner has well said, "The one institution in America most gravely concerned with the coming and staying of the immigrant is the Protestant church." The leadership which the Protestant church furnishes will in large measure affect the future of our country. If it is wise, strong and constructive these immigrants, who are the future Americans, will accept and practise the principles of Christ;

if it is weak, narrow and unintelligent, spiritual truth will not find believers among our next generation.

The strength of the Protestant church leadership so far provided the immigrants has lain in the personalities of certain individual pastors. Where men of forceful character have gone into an immigrant community, their influence has been great. Such is an Italian pastor in New York City of whom an American minister said that he was perhaps the outstanding leader among the Italians of his neighbourhood. Born to command, unafraid of any kind of opposition (and he has encountered every kind), he is full of common sense and personal magnetism. Still another example is a Hungarian Protestant pastor in one of Ohio's industrial cities, who because of his powerful personality has made himself almost a "pope" among his people. These men are men of combined character and education.

On the other hand, the weakness of Protestant church work among the immigrants has usually been in the lack of training of its pastors. In their anxiety to send workers among the foreign population of the country the churches have sometimes manned fields with foreign-speaking pastors poorly educated, or poorly trained in an understanding of American Protestant Christianity. Ex-Roman Catholic priests, and men whose meagre education prevented them from grasping the problems they had to face, have thus ofttimes retarded the spread of American evangelical Christianity among the immigrants. These men must necessarily fall by the wayside when they face the

intelligent, progressive minds of the new leaders among the younger immigrant generation, with all their knowledge of social welfare and unrest.

Henceforth Protestant religious leaders must be well trained for dealing with our immigrant situation. Leaders cannot be made and yet they must be made. Leaders are born, not made, since the pre-eminent qualification for leadership is personality; and you cannot make personality; like Topsy, "it just grows." But men can be developed to assume positions of leadership by being trained to see the direction in which the paths of progress lead. By having these paths pointed out, and by learning how to lead their people into them, men may become successful in arousing a response from people of their own nationality. It is in such ways that the qualities of leadership must be developed among those who are to be engaged in Protestant religious work among the foreign-speaking people of the United States.

In doing this work one of three types of people is required—either a foreign-born pastor who knows English (including in this group those of foreign blood born in America), or an American, native by birth and blood, who knows a foreign tongue or perhaps is associated with a foreign-speaking worker. At present both type of leader is needed.

Of course the work done in the foreign languages among our immigrant people is, and always must be, a transitional work. It will be necessary only so long as the arrival of new immigrants keeps up. If immigration were absolutely prohibited from now on, after

some twenty-five years all work among our population of foreign blood could be carried on in English, for all would understand English, and the older generation of foreign-born would have passed off the scene of action. But now, and until some twenty-five years after the last immigrant has reached our shores, the use of the native tongue in work among our new citizens will be necessary.

There is question as to the type of worker best suited to this task. The foreign-born worker has the advantage of an intelligent knowledge of the language and customs of his own people, and is best prepared to understand them. Yet he often has but a general knowledge of English, and is apt to retain a foreign accent all his life. Whereas he is best suited to reach the adult immigrants he is sometimes not so successful among the children, who, educated in our public schools, are apt to think themselves better than the man who cannot speak English without an accent. Again, he does not always fully understand American ideals or American evangelical Christianity.

A native-born American has the advantage of understanding clearly our language, customs and ideas, and with the children he does not need to know any language except English. But when he comes to dealing with the parents, he is under a handicap unless he knows their language. Even then he is apt always to have an incorrect accent in speaking the foreign tongue.

The third type is composed of those who, though born or entirely educated in America, are yet the sons

of immigrants. Sometimes such men combine both the good qualities of the other two types; sometimes they have the weaknesses of both. In the one case they are the best possible men to meet the situation; in the other case they need much training to insure their usefulness. Such are the Italian or Ruthenian young men, brought up in Italian or Ruthenian neighbourhoods, where only Italian or Ruthenian is spoken at home or on the streets, and whose American schooling has gone no further than the eighth grade. They will often speak both English and their mother tongue incorrectly because of their environment, where there has been little opportunity to hear either language well spoken. In consequence, they are ill equipped for positions of leadership among either Italians, Ruthenians or Americans.

The theological training which one needs for effective work among the immigrants is entirely subordinate to the prime requisite of personal character. This must be the first and necessary qualification. In the past twenty years, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, there have been so many failures in this respect that the churches must give great attention to this point. Particular care should be taken in the case of men who seek church work as ex-Catholic priests converted to Protestantism. There have been cases where men with bad records in the Roman church have become apparently converted to Protestantism; the Protestants have used their voices to raise thanksgivings to Heaven for these conversions, without using their eyes and ears to search out the truth of the facts in every case.

The existence of even a few such instances is sufficient to emphasise the necessity for Christlike character on the part of all immigrant religious workers.

Then, too, in Europe even Protestantism and its ministers differ from Protestantism and its ministers in America. In Hungary, where there are several million Protestants, Protestantism has become to a large extent a mere form, empty of the meaning of daily brotherhood. American Protestants must remember this in dealing with some of the Slovak and Magyar Protestants of our immigrant population, who with their old country ways have not thought drinking and dancing inconsistent accompaniments of church socials.

Foreign-speaking Immigrant Religious Leaders

What opportunities are at present offered for the training of these men of foreign birth or parentage who wish to give themselves to religious work among our Southern European immigrant population?

The Congregational Church has a Slavic department at Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. Here, under the supervision of a Bohemian professor, there were in the year 1915-1916 four Bohemian and four Slovak students for the ministry. Students are accepted who have had a high school course or its equivalent, and a three year theological course is given them. The instruction is partly in English, partly in Bohemian, in order that the men may be well trained in each language. While the prerequisites of this

course are not high, the work it does is thorough, and the contact of the Slavic students with the American college and seminary students is advantageous.

At Berea, Ohio, the Methodist Church has also a Slavic department in the Baldwin-Wallace College and Nast Theological Seminary, in which during the winter of 1915-16 there were over twenty immigrant students—most of whom were Bohemians and Slovaks. As at Oberlin, this department is under the supervision of a Slavic professor. A high school course, or its equivalent, is required of these Slavic students if they are to take the full theological course of three years. The fact that this seminary is composed of students largely for the German ministry makes the atmosphere with which the Slavic students are surrounded less definitely American than at such an institution as Oberlin.

The Baptists have approached the question of religious training more along the line of nationality. Thus in Brooklyn they have for the training of Italian Baptist ministers the Italian department of Colgate Theological Seminary. In 1915-16 the Italian professor in charge had twelve students who lived in the mission house of an Italian Baptist church. The students thus had no contact with American student life. The course is a three-year one, along theological lines, no especial educational equipment being demanded as a prerequisite of entrance. Three Italian ministers and one American woman compose the faculty.

In Cleveland the Baptists have a separate Hungarian training school, where in 1915-16 there were ten stu-

dents under the instruction of two Hungarian ministers and one American woman. A four year course is given, the classes meeting in the rear room of the Hungarian church. The preparation of most of these students previous to beginning their course had been only equivalent to a grade school education.

In Chicago is the Slavic Baptist Training School. Here, under a Polish and a Bohemian pastor, about twenty Polish, Ruthenian, Bohemian and Slovak young men have begun courses varying in length from three to six years. The dormitories and classrooms are simply rooms in the Bohemian Baptist church. The students previous to entering this school have had but little education.

Each of these Baptist schools is small, each has meagre equipment in the line of dormitory and class room facilities. In each the lack of a sufficient faculty, of touch with American life, of a thorough educational training is evident. Yet each is striving to grow in efficiency and ability to meet the demands of the situation.

At Bloomfield, New Jersey, and at Dubuque, Iowa, the Presbyterian Church has institutions which now provide academy, college, and theological seminary training for students of many immigrant nationalities. Originally founded to train men for work among our German speaking immigrants, in response to the demand of the new immigration, these schools have become cosmopolitan institutions. In equipment and size they outstrip the provision made by any other denomination for its immigrant workers. Each has

buildings and campus of its own, and a large faculty. Thus Bloomfield Theological Seminary in 1915-16 had some ninety students distributed about as follows: twenty-five Hungarians, sixteen Italians, fifteen Russians, fifteen Ruthenians, ten Germans, seven Poles, one American, and one Roumanian Jew. The Hungarians, Italians, Ruthenians, Russians, Germans and Poles each have a professor who teaches their native language, literature and history, and has general charge of the students of his own nationality.

The full course is one of nine years. This provides for a preparatory year, usually to be spent by the newcomer in learning the English language; four years of academy and high school work, and four years of collegiate work, with the last three of which the theological course may be combined. Thus an A. B. and a seminary training may be secured in several years less than under the usual American plan of a four year collegiate and three year theological course. At Bloomfield, as at so many of these other institutions for immigrant religious training, the students are all of foreign blood, and hence are without the contact with native Americans so essential for their best equipment.

At the Dubuque German College and Seminary there were in 1915-1916 over two hundred students of more than fourteen different nationalities. Still preponderantly German in the makeup of its student body, there are a sufficient number of Bohemians and Hungarians to require a special professor for each of these nationalities. Students of other nationalities

have meanwhile been unprovided for in a special linguistic way. Thus, where Bloomfield has specialised on preparing her students in their own mother tongue, Dubuque has paid more attention to the acquirement of the English language. In this her efforts have been aided by the presence of many native Americans in her student body, and by her splendid equipment. Dubuque, too, has an academy, college and seminary course, though with a larger force of instructors than Bloomfield, and consequently a more complete collegiate curriculum.

In New York City the interdenominational Bible Teachers' Training School provides an Italian department where, under an able professor, Italians may take a full three year theological course such as the school gives. Here there is contact with other American students, both men and women, but not as complete a course of preparation as may be had by taking a regular college and seminary course.

Such are the opportunities at present afforded by the different denominations for the special training of Protestant immigrant religious leaders.

It is interesting to note that the Roman Catholics have had many of the same questions to face as have the Protestants in this immigrant work. They have had to supply priests faster than has been really possible for them, with the result that in many instances they have had to use men of poor quality and education. The burden that immigration has laid on the Roman Catholic Church here in America has been immense. It has been almost swamped by the demands

of these immigrant Catholics for church buildings and priests who could speak their own language. It is amazing that the Catholic Church has been able to supply this demand as well as it has.

Their priests of many nationalities have been educated in the same schools and seminaries here, the common Latin ritual making this task far easier than is the similar Protestant task. But the Ruthenians, who use the old Russian service while holding allegiance to Rome, have had difficulties to encounter in training their priests. Their custom has been to give the preliminary training under their own Ruthenian bishop in Philadelphia—and then give the final theological training in the Roman Catholic Seminary at Baltimore. There they have recently secured a Ruthenian professor so that the Ruthenian students may not forget their native tongue and their own ritual.

The Russian Orthodox Church in America has also been struggling with the training of the next generation of priests. It has finally established a Seminary at Tenafly, New Jersey, where in 1915-1916 it had some thirty or more students. Two-thirds of them were American born, one-sixth were born in Russia, and one-sixth in Galicia. Most of them came from Pennsylvania mining towns, yet knew neither English nor Russian well. Their course at Tenafly is not the equivalent of a full American collegiate and seminary course. It is a six-year course, presupposing a grade school and two-year Russian preparatory school course. The studies are partly in Russian,

partly in English. An American professor has charge of all the English work, while the other professors are Russian priests.

Yet another interesting side light is thrown on this whole question by the fact that many of our Chinese and Japanese pastors in America had their training in foreign mission schools and seminaries, and none at all in this country. So necessary is an acquaintance with the Chinese and Japanese classics for such work that it seems almost necessary to have preliminary training in China or Japan, while only the final years need be spent here.

The training of future priests for the Polish National Catholic Church reminds one of the methods in early New England days, when the theological seminary was some older pastor's home. So it is now with them. Seven future priests in 1915-1916 were living with and studying under an older priest of this National Church in Plymouth, Pennsylvania. They hope for better equipment for such work in the future.

That men going into this field as a life work need a constant drill in both their native tongue and in English is evident. Therefore, there must be Protestant schools of the character of Bloomfield and Dubuque to carry on the *preparatory* and *college* education of these men. Such institutions do a unique and all-important work.

But since these institutions now provided by the various denominations have not the facilities for giving as broad a *theological* training as can be obtained in other fully equipped American theological semi-

naries, it would seem wiser for these future immigrant pastors to pursue their graduate work in theology at other seminaries. One reason favouring such a suggestion is this, that none of the present training schools mentioned above has a large enough theological faculty to present as complete a course of study as may be enjoyed at a larger seminary. Thus, in point of the opportunity for a wide range of courses, this change is desirable.

Secondly, one of the most vital things for these immigrant students to grasp is the free American evangelical idea of Christianity. No matter how helpful the faculty and surroundings of an institution may be, if all the students are of foreign birth or parentage, and especially if some have been brought up in a Roman Catholic atmosphere, it will be difficult for them to get a true grasp of America and American evangelical Christianity. They need to be in a more native American atmosphere, to be surrounded by American born students, to hear the English language spoken without a foreign accent. This they will find in a purely American seminary.

Institutions now training immigrant religious leaders could then concentrate their attention on their *academy* and *collegiate* work to a greater degree than they have yet done, though some of them already have been granted the privilege of giving the A. B. degree. Thus these institutions could present the great social and economic problems of the day, and make their curriculum more vital to the everyday lives of their immigrant students than they do now. For at some of these

training schools the students have more hours of Hebrew class room work than do the students in the usual theological seminary course, while at the same time they have no study of economics whatever. But to be fitted for to-day and to-morrow, these immigrant religious leaders must be well versed in the lore of sociology, whose face they meet around every corner. The minister to an immigrant people is in need of the very best education possible. Taking for granted the prerequisite of a sincere Christian character in a foreign speaking pastor, the broader education he can have the better.

So wide awake and intelligent along lines of philosophy, economics and science are many of the younger leaders of the immigrants that their young Protestant ministers must be equally well equipped to act as leaders. Socialism (often of a materialistic kind), freethought and anarchism are forces with which they must rub elbows every day. Far more than an average American pastor do they need to have the finest education and latest knowledge along all lines of thought to hold their own among their people. In such cases mere quotation of Bible texts, no matter how applicable they may be, will not meet the situation, because to a freethinker or atheist the Bible is not a book of truth but rather of error. He must be met on his own ground, and not on doctrinal grounds. Consequently a limited view of Christianity will fail to reach the heart of the real thinkers among any nationality. A generous Gospel, as contrasted with a narrow Gospel, a big hearted, open

minded Gospel must be preached and lived. More economics and less Hebrew will probably come nearer the Divine prescription for the training of immigrant religious leaders than more Hebrew and less economics.

The need for a well educated, economically informed Protestant religious leadership is well shown by what, in substance, a leading Polish Baptist minister said, "The Polish people leaving the Roman Catholic Church are made up of two varieties of people—(1) those who have become somewhat enlightened, and (2) the working men without much education." It is in order to cope with the first class that our Protestant foreign speaking ministry will be in need of the very best modern education; and it is to cope with the second class that they need to be familiar and sympathetic with all the labour, social and economic questions of the day. They ought to have no less an equipment than the editors of the independent, liberal but irreligious Polish daily and weeklies published in Chicago, all of whom have had a thorough European educational training. Just as the remark that "the Italians must be saved by men of brains because they don't know enough themselves," challenges Italian Protestant pastors, so the remark of a New Jersey labour leader that "revolution goes no farther than the intelligence that led it," must challenge the Protestant churches to give the immigrants an adequate, intelligent training for religious leadership.

Then, if these immigrant students go to regu-

larly equipped American theological seminaries, they must be kept in touch with some group of their own nationality, lest they lose interest in the problems of their own people and lose the fluent use of their native language. In the past this has been found the difficulty in sending German speaking men to ordinary American theological seminaries—that they have lost interest in the German work and taken up work among English speaking people.

In order to avoid this difficulty it has been suggested that national departments be established at various American seminaries: one to have a Polish department and professor for all Polish theological students, one a similar Bohemian department and professor, and still another an Italian department and professor. Thus each immigrant student could keep up his own language study and retain touch with his own people while having all the advantages of an American seminary training. This plan would differ from the plan now in use at Oberlin in that such department work would presuppose not only a high school but also a college training. The only objection to this method of meeting the situation would be in its practical "working out"—in the number of seminaries available unless it were made an interdenominational affair.

Another possible solution is that of having an interdenominational school for each nationality. Thus the Methodist, Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian Poles might all go to one Polish training school instead of to Oberlin, Bloomfield, Berea and Chicago as they now do. This plan has the merit of

overcoming the denominational distinctions which greatly hinder work among the immigrants. It is much like the system employed by the Roman Catholics, who have at Lisle, Illinois, a school simply for the training of Bohemians, and plan other schools for each nationality. But if carried out to its completion in dealing with all the nationalities it would require a great investment of money and the erection of many new seminaries.

The ideal plan would be to have interdenominational schools giving a thorough economic, liberal preparatory and collegiate education such as Bloomfield and Dubuque could provide; then to have interdenominational national departments at certain selected American theological seminaries where a thorough theological training would be combined with a more American student atmosphere. Let us hope that the day when such co-operative efforts may be put into actual practice is not far distant.

American Immigrant Religious Leaders

To train native Americans for this immigrant work is a different matter. A thorough education—preparatory, collegiate and seminary is necessary. If one knows beforehand among what people he is going to work the earlier he can begin his language study the better. He ought to have an interest in people and be familiar with social questions of the day. But there must come a knowledge of the customs, history and language of the people among whom he is to work.

Again it is the Presbyterians who have made the greatest progress in solving this problem. They have already at work in this country six men who, on Fellowships awarded by their Board of Home Missions, spent at least a year in Europe learning the language and customs of some one nationality, and are now back in the United States using that knowledge to work among those people. All of them college and seminary graduates, one went to Poland, one to Bohemia, one to Hungary, one to Croatia, one to Italy and one to the Jews of Russia.

The Congregationalists likewise sent one man to Italy for study. He is now giving his life to work among the Italians in a New England city. He spent at least three years in Italy, longer than the Presbyterian Fellowship men gave to their European study. This European Fellowship policy has been inaugurated so recently that many still hesitate to put their stamp of approval on it. In many ways they are quite right who say that no one unless born an Italian or Bohemian or Hungarian can ever really understand those races. But even twelve months with one's eye, ear and mind open to see, hear and learn about another nationality will go a long way toward an understanding of it. Such a knowledge of the immigrant peoples as these Fellowship men have thus gained in Europe, added to a similar knowledge of the conditions among the immigrant people in this country, seems the most efficient training an American worker can have to suit his preparation to his task among the immigrants.

Foreign-speaking Secular Immigrant Leaders

There are in addition to the schools already mentioned one or two other institutions for the training of immigrant leaders not necessarily to become Protestant ministers. Chief of these is the American International College at Springfield, Massachusetts. The purpose of this college is "to train both men and women, foreign born and of foreign parentage, to be leaders among the immigrants of this country." Its aim is to give both foreign born and home born students who may enter its student body "the same degree of culture as is obtained in New England colleges and high schools." While not denominational, the school is religious, using the Bible as a text book. It has a professor in Italian, and recently has had classes in Polish taught by the more advanced Polish students. In 1914-1915 the one hundred and twenty-seven students represented twenty-four nationalities and races, of whom the Italians with twenty-eight, the Poles with twenty-seven, the Armenians with eighteen and the Greeks with sixteen furnished the largest numbers.

Here there is training for many nationalities in a competent, non-theological school. It has the advantage of American teachers and of the refining influence always given by the presence of women; but it lacks the presence of American born students. Yet another feature is a special course provided in "training for social service among immigrants." This course has followed the outline for such a course published by

the "Committee for Immigrants in America" of New York City.

A new enterprise now on foot is a proposed school to be established in Washington County, Pennsylvania. This Rogers Industrial School, the first of its kind in America for the children of foreign born parents, will aim to give its pupils a religious and economic training that will make them ideal American citizens.

Various other institutions give training to many young people of foreign blood, among them the Polish "Collegium" in Pennsylvania. Valparaiso University at Valparaiso, Indiana, has a surprisingly large number of such students enrolled, including many Lithuanians and Bulgarians. These are attracted, not by special provision in the way of language instruction, but by the inexpensiveness of an education at this unique institution. It probably has more students of recent European ancestry than any other educational institution in the country.

Women Immigrant Religious Leaders

Institutions for the training of foreign speaking women workers are not so numerous as those for men. This is a field whose possibilities have not yet been fully realised, and where progress has been but recent.

In order to train foreign speaking women for work among their own people as deaconesses and pastors' assistants, the Methodist Church has at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, the McCrum Slavonic Missionary

Training School. Here, in 1915-1916, there were twenty-one students of Bohemian, Slovak, Polish and Magyar blood. The work is largely religious and domestic, though quite elementary, for while at least the equivalent of an eighth grade education is asked for as a prerequisite of entrance, exceptions are made even to this requirement. The course given in the school is a two or three year one, depending on the ability of the girls to speak English. Instruction is given in both English and the Slavic languages, but there is no contact with American born students or people except with the teachers.

In Coraopolis, Pennsylvania, the Presbyterian Church has its training school for immigrant girls. In 1915-1916 its enrolment was seventeen, of whom six were Bohemians, five Slovaks, three Magyars, two Ruthenians and one Italian. Here again the courses are of two and three years' duration; instruction is given in both Bohemian and English; no native Americans are in the student body.

The Schauffler Missionary Training School of Cleveland, Ohio, is the Congregational institution for such work. With a faculty of six, it had in 1915-1916 an enrolment of thirty-eight students, representing many nationalities. Instruction is provided for in the Bohemian, Polish, Italian and German languages. Originally aiming to train only young women of foreign birth for service among their own people, it has recently begun also to train American young women to become pastors' assistants and helpers. In this way it is providing its foreign students with American con-

tact such as the students do not get at the Uniontown and Coraopolis schools.

The emphasis in all these schools has been largely on Bible learning, catechism work and missionary endeavour. A grasp of the larger labour, economic and religious questions that loom so large on the immigrant horizon to-day has not been attempted, as the courses have been limited, and the previous education of the students usually slight.

A course for more advanced students has been possible at the Presbyterian Training School in Baltimore, where there have been a few foreign speaking students among the other American girls.

To supply the demand for women religious workers of a better educated type a graduate training course for church workers was opened in New York City under Presbyterian auspices in the fall of 1916. Here work along linguistic, economic, social and Biblical lines will be given. This one year course, designed to supply the demand for well trained lay workers in the church work of city and industrial communities, requires a college degree as a prerequisite of entrance. Enrolling fifteen American students in the first year, it will endeavour to fill a field hitherto left vacant.

Here it is hoped that college graduates may be given that additional preparation which shall make them most efficient workers in immigrant communities. At present there is no place for such training, as the training schools mentioned above are of an elementary kind. Although desiring high school graduates, most of the girls at these schools have had no

more than a grade school education. Consequently, even with their two or three year courses at these training schools, the extent of their education at the end of those years is still limited. Such people and schools are needed, but lay workers with a more complete educational equipment can undoubtedly do an even more important work.

Such are the opportunities for the training of religious workers for immigrant communities. It is interesting to see how the Protestant churches are becoming aroused to the need of better educated religious leaders to cope with the tremendous problems involved in the giving of the Gospel to our immigrant population. Without intelligent men and women in places of Protestant religious leadership indifference, materialism and irreligion will lay their pestilential hand on our immigrant population. With a thoroughly trained, broadly educated leadership in Protestant immigrant work our immigrant peoples will give to America new and larger visions of democracy, of freedom and of Christianity.

CHAPTER XXI

SUGGESTIONS FOR PROTESTANT CHURCH WORK

IN its future dealing with the immigrant problem one very important question faces the American Protestant Church. It is the question of the relation of Protestantism to Catholicism. The differences between the Roman Catholic form and the Protestant form of Christianity are brought into such sharp contrast by the presence in our country of the immigrants that this question must come openly, yet tolerantly, under discussion.

The religious affiliation of the majority of our recent immigrants has been with the Roman Catholic Church. Practically all the 3,000,000 Italians, the 3,000,000 Poles, the 500,000 Lithuanians, the 500,000 Slovaks, the 350,000 Croatians, the 200,000 Slovenes —a total of 7,550,000—have been Roman Catholics. Added to these are the 500,000 Bohemians from a land where only 2 per cent. of the population is Protestant; some hundreds of thousands of Hungarians; 400,000 Ruthenians, who are officially under the jurisdiction of the Pope, though their rites resemble those of the Russian Orthodox Church; and thousands of Roumanians, some of whom are Greek

Catholics, like the Ruthenians, and under the Church of Rome.

Here is a population of over 8,500,000 Roman Catholics—Christians. And yet all Protestant denominations are endeavouring to establish missions among these people. Why is this?

If these missions were merely to assist the Roman Catholics in caring for the immigrants for whom the latter are not able to make provision, this fact would not bring up a serious question. But when the work of these Protestant missions and churches is to reach those who have left the Roman Church and given up therewith all religion—of whom there are millions now among our immigrant people—Protestantism begins to put itself into contrast with Catholicism. And when it seriously and openly "converts" men and women from Catholicism to Protestantism, and directly draws them out of Roman churches, there is an absolute break with Catholicism. Such is the case to-day.

If Protestant churches really feel that the immigrants need to be evangelised, then there is no escaping the fact that they think the Roman Catholic Church needs to be evangelised. Protestant churches cannot prosecute their evangelical work among immigrant people without meeting the Roman Catholic Church face to face, and taking a stand for it or against it. This dilemma then presents itself: that the Protestant church must try to evangelise Roman Catholics or practically leave the immigrant field altogether.

Now it is apparent that if both forms of Christianity are really Christian there could not be this dilemma. Christians must work together for efficiency; inefficiency is un-Christian. So what are the facts?

The facts seem to be these. Where Roman Catholicism has had full sway in any land it has failed to present the full message of Jesus Christ, because it has kept the light of Christ's ethical Gospel hidden under a bushel of ceremony, superstition, ignorance and intolerance. The lives of its adherents bear witness to this fact; the words and actions of its priests and other official representatives make sure the truth of this fact. It has been in many cases worse than Buddhism and other so-called pagan religions, in that it not only has failed itself to present the life of simple love and service as the true Christian worship of God, but in that it has also, by its unlovely practices, handicapped all truer presentations of Christianity, putting the stigma of its own worldliness on everything labelled as "Christian" or as "the Church." The fear, the hopelessness, the ignorance, the unloveliness of the lives of its adherents among the immigrant people demand that a Gospel be given to them of confidence in the future, of hopefulness in daily life, of knowledge and of sweetness. It is this Gospel that Protestantism feels bound to give them.

The difference between Protestantism and Catholicism is accentuated in foreign speaking communities by the fact that the priests of the Italian, Croatian, Polish and other peoples are often unfamiliar with

the English language, with American customs and ideas. So imbued are they with the old country notions that they oppose anything among their people smacking of progress or education in matters of life and religion, and constantly stir up their people to bitter opposition against Protestants. In a New Jersey city the Catholic "sisters" have told Italian children that they would be sent to hell if they went to the Italian Protestant Sunday School. Loss of eternal life, loss of present social standing, loss of present business have all been swords of Damocles hung by the priests over the heads of any of these ignorant European peoples who have thought of going to Protestant services.

The inefficiency of many of the Catholic parochial schools, to which in many places a majority of the immigrants' children have gone, has been a fruitful cause of dissatisfaction with the Catholic Church. The fact that in many cases, though not all, a child transferring from the parochial to the public schools has had to be set back a grade and thus lose a year, has not been an acceptable state of affairs. Even the opportunity of learning their native language in the parochial schools has not been sufficient to allay objections to such inadequacy. Added to this fact, the constant demands of the Roman clergy for money for burials, marriages, baptisms and masses, and the continued superstition and ignorance of their people had so confirmed the past history of the Roman Church in Poland, Bohemia and other European lands as to in-

flame the hearts and minds of many immigrants against the Roman Church.

Although her power remains tremendous among these people, so that they dare not leave her lest they be outcast socially and in a business way, yet the rebellion against her is widespread. "I think also," writes a very bright young Pole from an Eastern city where he is a charter member of a very recently established Protestant church, "that our church means something not only for us, who are organised with it, but for all Polish people as well. I dare to say that it is the source from which will flow the stream of *Living Truth* into hearts of our people who are darkened and trammelled by the corrupted laws and superstition of Roman Church. Since we have organised our church, the Polish Catholic priests, who always fought each other, united against us. They announced in their churches that whoever will go to our church, that will be damned, and they are to refuse the remittance of sins for every one of us. Of course, we do not care for their remittances, since we know the Scriptures, but there are many people who believe in and obey them; and many years will pass before we can say: *'Christus triumphat'* and not the pope (in Poland)."

There must be either a revival of ethical Christianity from within the Roman Church, an opening of the eyes of its people to the light, and a new vision of co-operation with other Christians on the part of its clergy, or else Protestant forces must continue to present their view of Christianity openly among the

Catholic immigrant people. Some Protestants feel that it is wrong for Protestant churches to do what they call "proselyting" among Catholics. The reason for this is that there have been flagrant cases of trying to win over individuals from intolerant Catholicism to an intolerant Protestantism, resulting in a mere exchange of six of one for a half dozen of the other. But if the Protestant churches feel that their democratic form of Christianity is the true Christianity, as contrasted with the oligarchical form of Christianity in the Roman Catholic Church, then they must propagate and proselyte just as a health or sanitary commission must propagate its truth and proselyte for converts among believers in dark, unventilated rooms.

Quite the same question arises in the relation of American Protestant work to the work of the Eastern Orthodox Church among its adherents—the Greeks, Russians, Roumanians, Serbs, Bulgarians and Syrians. In these Orthodox Churches there is greater freedom than in the Roman Church because each nationality has its services in its own language. But ceremony, superstition and ignorance are accompaniments of the Orthodox Churches to almost as great a degree as they are of the Roman Church. The reason that each must meet the competition of the Protestant churches is the same—each has failed to practice and emphasise in the lives of its believers the moral and ethical principles of Christ. And against any form of religion which neglects those ethical principles the Protestant church is bound to preach and labour as it emphasises the moral teachings of Christ.

The great question and test of Protestantism is to come in the method it uses in its dealings with the Roman and Orthodox Churches. The two most necessary requisites of its attitude must be co-operation and tolerance. It must accept every movement of co-operation which these churches will forward; and instead of an acrimonious, intolerant vituperation of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches, the Protestant church must simply present its truth—though vigorously to be sure—and let the truth itself bear its own fruit. If Protestant truth is the real truth it will conquer and be accepted. Frankly, constructively and in the spirit of Christ the Protestant church must face this whole question. Meanwhile it must remember that its own character is not by any means spotless, and that only as it purges itself of selfishness, indifference and materialism can it expect to help the other churches.

Having faced the question of the Protestant attitude toward the Roman and Orthodox Churches, what are some definite suggestions that may be immediately worked out to help solve the problems which the Protestant church faces in dealing with the immigrant situation?

1. The Christian newspapers in foreign languages should be given far larger support than they now receive. Instead of a small Baptist sheet, a small Presbyterian weekly, a small Congregational paper trying to make some impression on one great nationality, there should be a combination of Protestant forces in one big, strong, progressive paper. So many of the foreign language papers of our churches are merely

children's papers fed to adults—papers which are of interest only to those already members of the Protestant churches. They do not challenge the attention of the great bulk of the unchurched immigrants. Therefore let the denominations do one of two things: either unite in one strong, interdenominational paper for each immigrant nationality—or assign to each denomination one nationality for whom it is to publish a strong, progressive paper. These papers would do well to be daily. They will cost large sums of money at the outset, but it is impossible to overestimate the influence they would have. And now is the time to establish them in order to reach the adults, for the younger generations read, not the foreign language papers, but our own American papers.

A Bohemian pastor in New York City said: "If I could have a daily (evening) newspaper, I could do whatever I wanted with the Bohemian people. It would do more than five missionaries here in the city, and do it faster than by our present slow methods. Then I could beat the freethinkers, whose papers every day have something in them against the church."

A Chicago Bohemian pastor says: "We must fight newspapers with newspapers. Our Slavic press in the United States is either controlled by the Catholic Church, particularly among the Poles; or is in the hands of the socialists, as is true to some extent of all our immigrants; or it is frankly infidel, as happens to be the fact among Bohemians."

Such papers should be newsy, clean, moral, broad in their interest, constructive in their atmosphere

and in their methods of presenting American Christianity. A recent Polish monthly, printed under Presbyterian auspices in Baltimore, is the first attempt to appeal to the thinking people among that nationality with a broad gauge Christian paper. Its aim to be a "Polish religious, social, economic, political and literary monthly review" expresses the possibilities that lie before the churches in this field. When you discover that the only Protestant Slovenian literature in this country has been sent here by an evangelist in Hungary, and that since the war even this thin black and white thread of progress has been cut off, it arouses you to a sense of the need in the immigrant newspaper field. The churches must awake, must give, must print—largely, broadly, constructively, daily.

2. How necessary interdenominational co-operation is becomes evident at every turn in dealing with immigrant questions. Two or three possible roads are open. One way is to have the churches continue their present helter-skelter method of work, starting missions at any place they happen to choose, without a far-sighted plan of national outlook. Or they can turn over to the care of one denomination one nationality, to another another. Thus it has been suggested that the work among the Russians in this country be turned over to the Baptists, who have done much work among them in Russia itself; to the Congregationalists the work among the Slovaks; to the Presbyterians, the Hungarians. One drawback to this hard and fast plan is that it would often be impracticable in small communities where work needs to be done, and yet

the designated denomination might not be available. Then, too, it would tend to make denominational form a national characteristic—an unfortunate state of affairs which has produced religious stagnation in the homelands of our immigrants, and which can scarcely be justified in a land of democracy and religious freedom.

Best of all, it would be, to have the churches of all denominations join in supporting whatever denomination had already undertaken work among any nationality in a certain place, letting the Methodists have charge if they had already entered the field, or the Congregationalists if they were first on the ground. In an eastern industrial centre a Presbyterian pastor said: "The Baptists are doing work here among the Hungarians and Italians, so the Presbyterians are leaving the field to them." The lack of competition there was a sign of progress; but in such instances there ought to be a further step taken so that each denomination, instead of "leaving the field to the other denomination," would give the services of its men and money to "assist the other denomination in the field."

In immigrant fields where a new church work is to be started it ought, wherever possible, to be interdenominational, so that the newcomers to America will not be confused by the "too many religions" offered them, and think none of them is necessary. When the Japanese give up Buddhism on the Pacific Coast they want to become Christians, not Methodists or Presbyterians or Baptists. Yet in New York City

there is within a radius of a few blocks work carried on for the Russians by three denominations, each work weak and struggling, each demanding a worker and a separate place of meeting. The meagre results there are evidence of the lack of wisdom of denominational competition in such endeavours. At the same time we must supply workers and money for the tremendous number of unoccupied fields among all the nationalities the country over. Where one church does not undertake the work, another must; where all are aware of the needs they must enter the field in a united effort.

3. Each church body, in its Home Missions office or some similar department, ought to have a clearing house of information about all the foreign speaking workers connected with such denomination anywhere in this country. It ought to have a record of the educational training of all such workers (pastors, visitors, evangelists, editors)—of their various fields of labour—of their qualifications, recommendations and defects. Thus the misfortune would be avoided which is so often caused when a man, for instance, who may have left one Presbytery because of inefficiency goes to another distant Presbytery where they need such a foreign speaking worker, and is received without any knowledge on the part of the latter Presbytery of his past character or work. But if there were such a central clearing house, where all information about such a man could be immediately secured, such unfortunate cases as have happened in the past need no longer occur. A case such as that of an Italian pas-

tor who had been dismissed by the Vancouver Presbytery, then went to Seattle and was employed by the Methodists until they found out his incapacity, could be avoided if each denomination had such a clearing house, and all denominations worked in co-operation along this line.

4. In dealing with foreign pastors and workers it is necessary to be very careful because of their unusual sensitiveness. Feeling often that they are not accepted on a parity with native born Americans, they are apt to take to heart remarks spoken thoughtlessly or in fun about them and their work, and to nurse mental injuries which were never intended at all. They are inclined to draw general conclusions from single incidents, as was the case with a Croatian in Pittsburg, who, while working in a bank, was asked by the Y. M. C. A. to help in the translation for some stereopticon slides to be shown in a Croatian neighbourhood. He did so; but for some reason was not paid by the Y. M. C. A. for his work, as they had promised to do. Consequently he has never done anything for them since. He has cherished this one grievous incident and coloured his whole view of the Y. M. C. A. by it. Thus it behooves every one who is working with and doing for immigrant people to be scrupulously careful in all dealings with them to carry out in every detail his share of each transaction. More personal interest and family hospitality may well be shown our foreign speaking workers. They are often lonely, without many among their own people with whom they have a community of interests, without the

fellowship of the American workers, and often in need of closer touch with American home life and customs to enable them to interpret such life and customs to their own people. Church people will do well to ask them frequently to their homes.

5. A final suggestion is this—that every church organisation in every city, town and rural community have a committee of men and women as an "Immigrant (or Strangers') Committee." The committee members might profitably keep themselves and their church informed of the presence of all immigrants in the community—of their numbers and their needs. Through co-operation with the Federal Bureau of Immigration information can be obtained as to the arrival and location of immigrants. Through the National Americanization Committee and the Immigration department of each denominational Home Mission Board assistance can be secured in providing for their housing, employment and training for citizenship. Through friendly visiting each local committee can show its personal interest to the newcomers, and learn how to guide church activities to meet the needs of these immigrants.

The necessity for such a vigilance and information committee becomes more apparent each day. There is now scarcely a village, however small, in any state in the union, where one or more immigrant people are not to be found, either in construction gangs on the roads and railways, as keepers of fruit and candy stores, as proprietors of restaurants, or as common day labourers. In many such communities these immigrant

people live two and three years, their presence not even known by most of the church members, their religious needs unsupplied, their contact with Christian hearts and homes a negligible quantity.

Such a committee could give the personal touch to the immigrant situation which is its vital need, and its only solution. More fundamental than better wages, better houses, a knowledge of the English language, or new church buildings is personal contact, interest and sympathy with the immigrant. Out of these personal contacts will all the other needs of the immigrants be supplied. As Prof. Steiner says: "All we can do is to get saturated with the spirit of Jesus' brotherliness. We must treat the immigrants as human beings, as brothers. To Jesus every one was a soul; not a Jew, or Samaritan, or man, or woman, but a soul. We must try to put ourselves in the place of each one of them and say: 'I might have been that person.'"

America has been and continues to be a source of immense blessing to her immigrant millions. The opportunities in America for education, for material advancement, for freedom, are constant causes of gratefulness in the hearts of our foreign speaking population. The increasing efforts on the part of the American people and churches to do away with abuses affecting our immigrants, and to offer to them more fully the advantages of American life, are cheering signs of a new future.

To meet this new future and its needs the Church

must hear and answer the cry for Protestant religious leadership which comes in no uncertain tones from all our immigrant nationalities, and at present in particular from the Bohemians, the Croatians, the Poles, the Ruthenians, the Slovenes, the Greeks, the Italians, the Lithuanians, the Roumanians and the Japanese. When the Church learns from its contact with the immigrants to surmount denominational differences; to practise a clearer and more inclusive belief in democracy; and to accept all the moral and ethical implications of the Gospel of Christ, the coming of the immigrants to America will have made its contribution to the salvation of the world.

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